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(En)visioning Resistance: Applications of the Battlefield Myth in the War Scroll as a Window into the Theological Development of the Community

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ABSTRACT

The *War Scroll* (1QM) from Qumran is a composite document and is the result of a complex redactional process. It is the goal of this thesis to provide a historical proposal for the redaction of 1QM based on conflicting eschatological combat theology found within. Beginning with the earliest roots of ancient Israelite combat mythmaking and its continued evolution into the late Second Temple Period, writers appropriated and adapted the Israelite Battlefield Myth to envision theologies of resistance against oppression. Looking at the various adaptations and the social milieu in which each was written, it is possible to identify different trajectories of the myth and therefore identify each of these within 1QM. The *War Scroll* contains multiple differing appropriations of Battlefield Myth that reveal the work of multiple writers/redactors, each of whom envisioned the final war with varying levels of human and divine participation. This can be corroborated through an examination of the external material evidence and internal linguistic and style evidence.

(En)visioning Resistance: Applications of the Battlefield Myth in the War Scroll as a
Window into the Theological Development of the Community

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By

James Prather

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ליחזקאל בני אור

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ABBREVIATIONS

Commentary Series

ABC	<i>Anchor Bible Commentary</i>
Herm.	<i>Hermeneia</i>
Illum.	<i>Illuminations</i>
JPSTC	<i>Jewish Publication Society Torah Commentary</i>
NICOT	<i>New International Commentary on the Old Testament</i>
OTL.....	<i>Old Testament Library</i>
WBC	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QH ^a	<i>The Hodayot</i>
1QM	<i>The War Scroll</i>
1QS	<i>Rule of the Community</i>
4QMMT	<i>Halakic Letter</i>
CD	<i>Damascus Document</i>

Encyclopedias, Lexica, and Theological Dictionaries

EA.....	<i>The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism</i>
EDEJ.....	<i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i>
IDB.....	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i>

Monograph Series

BETL.....	<i>Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium</i>
HSM.....	<i>Harvard Semitic Monograph Series</i>
JSJsup.....	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies Supplement Series</i>
Sem.	<i>Semeia</i>

Peer Reviewed Journals

BM.....	<i>Beit Mikra</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BS.....	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
CBQ.....	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>

<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEP</i>	<i>Journal of Experimental Psychology</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JTC</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>PEGLMBS</i>	<i>Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Religion and Theology</i>
<i>Skep.</i>	<i>Skeptic</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WW</i>	<i>Word & World</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Other Abbreviations

ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
BCE.....	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
DWM	Divine Warrior Myth
PCM	Primordial Combat Myth

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, John Collins recognized that “the nationalistic mythology of holy war, where battles between nations on earth correspond to battles between their patron deities and their hosts, is fused, at least in Israel, with the cosmogonic myth of the victory of divine warrior over chaos.”¹ Though this was not a new insight at the time, Collins may have been the first to summarize it in such precise terms.² He saw the fusion of two myths, the chaos myth and the divine warrior myth, as a response to pagan myth in light of Israelite monotheism.³ Collins used this insight to discuss the ways that the Book of Daniel and the *War Scroll* (1QM) shaped the myth in new ways. It appears as though this keen insight never took hold within scholarly discourse regarding the *War Scroll*. Instead many have focused on external influences, such as Persian dualism or Roman war practices. Collins concluded, “The War Scroll does not derive its basic structure from the Canaanite chaos myth, but from the Persian dualism of light and darkness.”⁴ However, the myths that he described above and their fusion into one distinctly Israelite myth,

1. John J. Collins, “The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic,” *VT* 25 (1975): 598.

2. Collins draws heavily upon multiple works by F. M. Cross and Peter von der Osten-Sacken. It is clear that Collins did not see this as a distinctly new myth since he chose to continue writing about the phenomenon as two myths fused together. However, Collins’s profound insight on the matter led to the creation of this thesis and my argument that this fusion of two Ancient Near Eastern myths in ancient Israel should be treated as a distinct myth.

3. Collins, “The Mythology of Holy War,” 598.

4. *Ibid.*, 604.

shaped the *War Scroll* and its literary forebears far more drastically than any have estimated. In this thesis, I will show that the mythic pattern Collins identifies can be used to track and understand the literary development of the *War Scroll*.

It is well recognized that the *War Scroll* is a composite document and is the result of a complex redactional process.⁵ Regarding the development of 1QM, Jean Duhaime writes, “The internal evidence from 1QM suggests that this work has probably achieved its actual form through some kind of literary growth,” but that none of the proposed models have been able to adequately describe what motivated its evolution.⁶ Although a few have examined mythic motifs in the *War Scroll*, such as the combat myth⁷ and the eschatological warfare motif,⁸ none have attempted to use these motifs to describe the literary development of the text.⁹ Just as many ancient texts grew over time through the efforts of multiple redactors, so too did ancient myths evolve over time as circumstances changed their form and function. As I will show, the distinct Israelite myth that Collins identified, and the way it was used by various writers over time, can be used to form an historical proposal of literary growth and redaction in the *War Scroll*.

5. For instance, see J. van der Ploeg, “La composition littéraire de la règle de la guerre de Qumrân,” in *Sacra Pagina: Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Internationalis Catholici de re Biblica*, eds. J. Coppens, A. Descamps, and E. Massaux; 2 vols.; BETL 12, 13 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1959), 2:13–19; Collins, “The Mythology of Holy War,” 596–612; John Zhu-En Wee, “A Model for the Composition and Purpose of Columns XV–XIX of the War Scroll (1QM),” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 262–83. For the minority view, see Philip Davies, *1QM: The War Scroll from Qumran* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977). See chapter 4 for a discussion of these competing ideas.

6. Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts* (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 60–61.

7. Frederick J. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 215–18.

8. Ted M. Erho, “The Motif of the Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM),” in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Contribution*, eds. Peter W. Flint, Jean Duhaime, and Kyung S. Baek (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 359.

9. The latest study on the topic by Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), does not once address the mythic dimensions of the text or how they contributed to the development of the final form of 1QM.

Chapter 2 will discuss mythmaking in ancient Israelite texts. First, the Ancient Near Eastern origins of the two myths that Collins identified, the Divine Warrior Myth and the Primordial Combat Myth, will be examined. Both of these myths appear in the Hebrew Bible in a mostly unmodified state. These myths also grow and change in multiple stages within the Hebrew Bible, where each stage reflects the changing political circumstances in ancient Israel. After showing how these myths developed and evolved in their Israelite religious milieu, the unique fusion of the two myths, which Collins also identified, will be discussed in order to define the new myth's characteristics. I will call this new myth the Battlefield Myth. Finally, the ways that it is used in the Hebrew Bible will be examined in order to create a starting point for exploring its development and various trajectories through Second Temple Judaism.

Recently some have objected to a strict classification of characteristics in order to define types; for example, Jacques Derrida prefers to “speak of a sort of participation without belonging – a taking part in without being part of, without having membership in a set.”¹⁰ However, other approaches from the field of *genre studies* offer us a constructive way to still identify a specific group of characteristics as a type without losing focus on each text's “irreducible peculiarity.”¹¹ One such approach is that of family resemblance because it is possible to recognize the various features of the family on a person without saying that each person in a family looks alike.¹² A related and more productive approach

10. Jacques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 2000), 219-31.

11. Carol A. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients*, eds. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel, and D. R. Magary (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 439.

12. Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1958). David Fishelov, *Metaphors of Genre: The Role of Analogies in Genre Theory* (University Park: Pennsylvania

is prototype theory from cognitive psychology which proposes the way humans recognize and classify objects is through a core-fringe model.¹³ Children may draw a stereotypical house as a box with a triangle for a roof, two windows, and a door in the center, but they would also recognize multiple other styles of houses with a broad range of architectural features. In a similar manner, some texts are more easily recognizable as a certain genre or type than others, but may still be classified as “that sort of text.”¹⁴ This provides an effective middle-ground between rigid definitions and irresponsibility.¹⁵

With prototype theory in mind, chapter 3 will explore the ongoing evolution of the Battlefield Myth in the literature of the Second Temple period where different writers appropriated the ancient myth in new ways to support their theology of resistance. The Maccabean crisis ca. 165 BCE sparked a varied and rich discussion within Judaism on how to resist pagan oppressors. Some used the Battlefield Myth to support an agenda of armed revolt where the eschaton would be brought about through the sword and God would appear on the battlefield to deliver them as described in ancient texts like Joshua and Judges. Others saw the futility in violence as a means to bring about blessing and instead appropriated the Battlefield Myth to support a much more subversive yet

State University Press, 1993), 54, has critiqued this as too fuzzy, and John Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 51, noted that it was a way to make “anything look like anything.” John J. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy: On Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 11, writes that “‘Family resemblance’ is too vague to be satisfactory as a basis for genre recognition, but the discussion highlights a persistent problem with attempts at classification: the difficulty of drawing a clean line between a genre and closely related works.”

13. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 443, cf. Eleanor Rosch, “Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories,” *JEP* 104 (1975): 192-233. My thanks to John Collins for pointing me to this, cf. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 12.

14. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 444.

15. Swales, *Genre Analysis*, 52. See also Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 443, who writes that prototype theory “provides a way for bringing together what seems so commonsensical in classificatory approaches, while avoiding their rigidity.”

distinctly non-violent program of resistance. Instead of bringing about the eschaton by their own militaristic might, they instead focused on holiness, the study of Torah, or even martyrdom, as a means to rouse God's decisive intervention that would establish the age to come. Other writers used the Battlefield Myth to promote their own theology of resistance that lies somewhere between these two extremes. Understanding the theological trajectories that the myth took will allow these categories to be compared to the various forms of the final battle at the end of the time found in the *War Scroll*.

Chapter 4 examines the external evidence for redaction in 1QM and related cave 4 material using the Battlefield Myth as redactional lens. "External evidence" is defined as the material evidence that represents other witnesses to the same text or recensions of that text.¹⁶ The external evidence for 1QM is primarily found in manuscripts discovered in cave 4. The composite character of 1QM was obvious long before the cave 4 texts were discovered and their significance understood. However, recent work has made a much more thorough case for its complex redactional history.¹⁷ While these studies have carefully considered the external evidence for 1QM, scholars have come to different conclusions regarding the relationship between cave 4 texts and 1QM and their relative date of composition. Using the Battlefield Myth as a redactional lens allows us to construct a framework for the development of the Qumran community's theology of resistance. As I will show in chapter 4, the theology of resistance consistently trends from human militancy in 4Q texts toward less human involvement and more divine action in 1QM. For instance, in 4Q491, the faithful win the battle against their foes with the help

16. Léon Vaganay and Christian-Bernard Amphoux, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 62.

17. See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 1-402.

of God and God's armies. However, when the text or one similar to it was redacted into 1QM 16, the redactor changed it such that the faithful lose and must stand firm until the miraculous intervention and salvation of God. The writer changed the battle so it would better fit into 1QM and in doing so provided a window into the theological development of the community.

Chapter 5 examines the internal evidence for redaction in 1QM using the Battlefield Myth as redactional lens. "Internal evidence" may be defined as the literary clues provided by the text of previous redactional activity, such as contradictory resistance theology in juxtaposed pericopes.¹⁸ The analysis in chapter 3 will allow the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth and the resistance theology it is supporting to be compared in two adjacent sections in 1QM. I will show multiple places where two different versions of the Battlefield Myth are juxtaposed that support very different conceptions of human and divine participation in the final eschatological war. Therefore, even where there is no external evidence for redaction in a particular section of 1QM, comparing the uses of the Battlefield Myth will provide internal evidence of the activity of a redactor.

Finally, in chapter 6 I will propose an historical model for the use of the Battlefield Myth in the *War Scroll* and the layers of redaction that have been uncovered via my approach. This will allow for a short exploration of the implications of this thesis.

18. Vaganay and Amphoux, *Introduction*, 79.

CHAPTER II

THE SYNTHESIS OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN MYTH IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will describe the development of a new myth within the Hebrew Bible, the Battlefield Myth, which represents a synthesis of existing Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) myth. Specifically, two previously identified myths, the Primordial Combat Myth and the Divine Warrior Myth, will be examined by looking at relevant ANE texts and inscriptions, followed by their appearances in the Hebrew Bible. As John Collins has noted, these two myths are fused together in the Hebrew Bible, and I will propose that this fusion forms something entirely new.¹ I will examine three such places in the Hebrew Bible where these two myths appear together and show that the synthesis of their ANE antecedents has produced a new myth within the Hebrew Bible that I call the Battlefield Myth. Finally, I will construct a framework from these passages consisting of the myth's seven primary characteristics. These characteristics will allow one to identify the contours of the myth in later Jewish texts, even as it evolves over time.

Building a precise way of identifying this myth will not only confirm its existence as a distinct entity, but also help to identify it as it grew and evolved in early Jewish tradition. Perhaps unsurprisingly, not all Jews in the Second Temple period appropriated Scripture in the same manner. Their different methods of interpretation and appropriation

1. John J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War," 598.

in new texts, however, all rest upon the same early tradition that must be carefully defined in order to trace its development in later periods. Tracing the development of this myth and its various antecedents will allow for a robust way of dealing with its conflicting uses within the *War Scroll*.

2.2. The Primordial Combat Myth (PCM) in the Ancient Near East

Bernard Batto defines the “common Semitic combat myth” as a narration of “how in primeval time the creator deity had slain the chaos dragon.”² However, there is not a single myth that can be called the “combat myth,” but rather a collection of myths from the ancient world that all rely on similar themes and plot. The oldest of these come from the ancient Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*.³ This epic appeared throughout the ANE and developed into distinct forms as each culture appropriated the myth and retold it.⁴ Similarly, the ancient Babylonian stories of *Atrahasis*, a flood narrative, and the *Enuma Elish*, a cosmogony, form the backdrop to the ancient combat myths about a struggle between gods, humanity, and chaos in its various forms.⁵ These myths were told as a way to make sense of the world (cosmogony) and to promote the political establishment over and against rivals (kingship).⁶ Each of these three antecedents to later mythic literature,

2. Bernard F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1992), 3.

3. Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 24. The epic in its earliest form, the poem “Gilgamesh and Huwawa,” originated ca. 2100 BCE.

4. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 36. There are Babylonian, Assyrian, Palestinian, Ugaritic, and Hittite exemplars. Most notable is the Hittite version that expands certain parts and makes the hero Huwawa instead of Gilgamesh.

5. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 40. See also Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 91, which describes the changes made to the *Enuma Elish* by Assyrians, such as changing Marduk’s name to Assur.

6. Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 163-91, proposes that the *Enuma Elish* functioned as a legitimizing

and others that followed, such as the Canaanite *Baal Cycle*, portrays a conflict between some form of chaos (a dragon, the sea, etc.) and the gods who may choose to use humanity to fight the threat.⁷ These ANE combat myths all claim their authority by setting the narrative before time in what is often called “primordial time.” I will therefore refer to this collective tradition as the Primordial Combat Myth (PCM). These PCM narratives usually follow a discernible plot progression similar to the following:⁸

Lack/Villainy → Hero emerges/prepares to act → Donor/Consolation → Journey
→ Battle → Defeat → Enemy ascendant → Hero recovers/new hero → Victory
→ Enemy punished → Triumph

Hermann Gunkel was the first to show a relationship between these ANE myths and the texts of the Hebrew Bible and argues for a literary dependence of Gen 1 with the *Enuma Elish*.⁹ Discoveries after Gunkel’s work, such as the library at Ugarit and the Mari letters, have allowed scholars to challenge and refine his original hypothesis. For instance, it is the Canaanite combat myth, which portrays Baal’s battles with the sea (Yam) and death (Mot), that more directly influenced the Hebrew Bible’s appropriations

myth for the newly established Babylonian monarchy. The victory of Marduk over Tiamat, therefore, functioned on two levels: 1) as a cosmogony, and 2) to celebrate Babylon as divinely ordained by ancient (primordial) authority. See also Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 38. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 45, discusses how other myths, such as the Labbu myth also functioned as justifying kingship.

7. See Frederick J. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 15-17, for a helpful summary of other related combat myths, such as the *Lugal-e* myth and the *Anzu* myth. See also Richard Clifford, “The Roots of Apocalypticism in Near Eastern Myth,” *EA 1*: 3-38.

8. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 446-51.

9. Hermann Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton*, trans. K. William Whitney Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006). First published in 1895, this treatise has become foundational to mythopoeic studies.

of the PCM than did the Babylonian myths.¹⁰ Nevertheless, it is clear that the writers of the Hebrew Bible were influenced by their West Semitic milieu and, as others had done for millennia before them, continued the tradition of appropriating and shaping these combat myths for their own purposes. I will next consider how the Hebrew Bible appropriates the PCM, followed by some examples. These examples, while not exactly exemplifying the core of the myth found in ANE literature, can still be identified as the PCM via prototype theory. Examining these instances will help identify PCM elements within the Battlefield Myth and support the claim that it is a different myth.¹¹

2.3. The Primordial Combat Myth in the Hebrew Bible

The PCM could be considered a primary backstory to the Hebrew Bible.¹²

However, there are no complete examples of the myth like the *Enuma Elish* or the *Baal Cycle*, but rather as Michael Fishbane writes, “The different expressions of the combat myth in biblical sources are not full-scale narrations of mythic events, recounting a complete series of occurrences. They are rather highly condensed epitomes or evocations of these events, set within another (non-mythic) literary context or genre.” Often reduced to a few lines in a hymn, only the essential elements are left: glory, combat, victory, and

10. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 46-47. See also pg. 59 where he concludes that, “it remains possible that the *Enuma Elish*, now thought to be contemporary with the oldest texts in the Hebrew tradition, had some direct impact on them, but the obvious source of the Old Testament combat language is the Canaanite myths.”

11. It is important to remember that prototype theory allows for items at the fuzzy edges to be a part of multiple overlapping categories. Such an example in the world would be the famous archaeopteryx – at the fringes of both bird and dinosaur and yet still identifiable as both. Therefore some of the characteristics that are core to the PCM will not be used by the Battlefield Myth and vice versa.

12. Gregory Mobley, *The Return of the Chaos Monsters – And Other Backstories of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 16. Mobley argues well for the combat myth, and humanity’s struggle against chaos in all its forms, as the “backstory” of the entire Hebrew Bible.

enthronement.¹³ The incomplete snippets, or epitomes, that do appear within the Hebrew Bible seem to be a direct response to the ANE myths known to Israel.¹⁴ These passages are filled with cross-references and allusions to the assortment of connected myths discussed above that Israel used with significant revision to fit the shape of its theological vision.¹⁵ Therefore the PCM appears primarily as short, one-sided primordial battles between YHWH and chaos (e.g., the sea, Leviathan) or YHWH and pagan deities (e.g., Baal, Yam, Nahar, etc.).¹⁶

Frederick Murphy outlines the use of the combat myth in the Hebrew Bible in stages, loosely correlated from its earliest appearance to the latest texts, and shows that its usage shifted over time.¹⁷ In its earliest form, stage one, it appears as hymns celebrating the victory of YHWH that brought Israel into being.¹⁸ Stage two of this progression moves from simply rehearsing the past to asking YHWH to remember that past and act thusly to save Israel from a present threat.¹⁹ Fishbane argues this is the most frequent use of the PCM in the Hebrew Bible, appearing in the Psalms and prophetic literature during a time of national crisis when YHWH's powers are notably absent.²⁰ Stage three occurs in an exilic and post-exilic context that shifts the expectation from immediate

13. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 66.

14. John N. Day, "God and Leviathan in Isaiah 27:1," *BS* 155 (1998): 425. Day describes the combat myth in response to the myths of Ugarit, Babylon, and Egypt.

15. Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Myth and Rabbinic Mythmaking* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 40.

16. *Ibid.*, 37-49.

17. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 28-30.

18. *Ibid.*, 28. Murphy only lists Exod 15 as an example.

19. *Ibid.*, 29. Murphy lists as examples: Psalms 74, 77, 89, 93, 96, 114.

20. Fishbane, *Biblical Myth*, 41.

intervention to future intervention. Finally, stage four introduces new elements such as dualism and shifts the expectation of intervention away from history entirely and into the eschaton.²¹ Since I consider Dan 10 (stage four) in chapter three, the following examples from stages one, two, and three, respectively, will now be considered: Job 26; Ps 74; Isa 51.²²

2.3.1. Job 26:5-14 (Stage One)

The Book of Job is sprinkled with the mythic imagery of YHWH defeating chaos, imagined as “God’s combat with the cosmic Sea and sea monsters.”²³ Specifically, Job 26:5-14 offers what is perhaps the fullest appropriation of the PCM within the book. In v. 5, it says, “The רפאים writhe from below, the waters and their inhabitants.” The Hebrew word רפאים, is often translated as “shades” and this seems to be adequate for the general point of the chapter. However, as Batto writes, some mythic elements often lose “their value as operative myths and survive only as literary symbols, that is, as mere vestiges of their original mythic functions,”²⁴ and I would claim that this has happened here.²⁵ The cognate appears in Ugaritic and there refers to a dead line of kings and heroes, so

21. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 28, 30. Murphy’s example here is just Daniel.

22. There are too many texts to fully address them all here. Some of the other candidates for examination (but by no means all of them), and their most relevant verses, are: Gen 1; Job 3:8; 7:12; 9:13; 38:8-11; 40:25-41:26; Ps 33:6; 40:5; 44:20; 46; 65:7; 77:16-19; 87:4; 89:9-10; 104:25-26; Prov 8:22-31; Isa 27:1; 30:7; 43:18-21; 59; Jer 5:22; 51:34, 36, 42; Ezek 29:3-6; 32:2-7; Amos 9:2.

23. Choon Leong Seow, *Job 1-21: Interpretation and Commentary*, Illum. 14 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 558. Seow lists the following passages in Job directly related to this theme: Job 3:8; 7:12; 26:12; 28:14; 9:13; 38:8; 40:15; 41:1. Seow sees a connection between this biblical imagery and Canaanite iconography from Ugarit. See also Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms*, trans. T.J. Hallet (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 213.

24. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 12.

25. Certainly the Rephaim are referred to in the Hebrew Bible as a general term for the dead, such as in Ps 88:11 and Isa 26:19. However, the term is used in a mythic sense elsewhere, such as in Deut 2:11 to refer to a race of giants.

Moffatt's translation perhaps captures the mythic nature of the verse by translating it thus: "Before him the primeval giants writhe."²⁶ This helpfully illustrates that the PCM occurs here as a series of connected myths about YHWH, fighting giants and heroes as well as sea monsters and the Sea itself as I will show below.

Verses 7-14 are part of a cosmogony myth referring to YHWH's combat at creation, which is imagined in several ways. Verse 7 mentions the cosmic chaos, תהו, found in Gen 1, and verse 8 mentions the waters that YHWH bound up above and below the earth. The actual combat presumably takes place in verses 11-13 where YHWH stills the Sea, strikes down Rahab, and pierces the serpent. However, the text here, as above in v. 5, has perhaps lost some of its meaning and now remains only as a shadow of its original mythic connotation. In v. 11 YHWH "rebukes" the pillars of heaven and they tremble. The word often translated as rebuke is the Hebrew גערה that is elsewhere associated with YHWH's "explosive blast" (e.g., Isa 50:2, Nah 1:4) and is paralleled with his "blast of breath from your nostril" in Ps 18:15. Indeed, in v. 13 the Hebrew word רוח, typically translated as "wind," appears in parallel with YHWH piercing the serpent. In these verses, YHWH appears to do combat through a great blast of wind or breath against chaos personified as an ancient serpent or Rahab. David Clines notes the connection between Job 26 and the *Enuma Elish* where Marduk forces a great gust of wind into Tiamat's mouth that allows him to shoot an arrow directly into her distended belly, piercing her.²⁷ Although Clines suggests the connection could be coincidental, given the

26. James Moffatt, *The Bible: James Moffatt Translation* (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, 1922). The LXX and Peshitta translate Rephaim as "giants." See also David J. A. Clines, *Job 21-37*, WBC 18a (Dallas: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 634-35.

27. Clines, *Job 21-37*, 637-38. See also Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos*, 24-25. Gunkel notices a different story about Marduk and Tiamat because YHWH "calms" the Sea and this is paralleled with the destruction of the chaos monster Rahab. He writes on pg. 24, "In this regard one is reminded of how

discussion here it hardly seems so. Indeed, many think that Job 26:5-14 could have conceivably been a hymn taken from a Canaanite or Babylonian context.²⁸ Whether it was taken wholesale or the writer merely appropriated ideas and themes hardly matters.

In Job 26 one finds the PCM fully appropriated by the writer to describe the cosmogonic actions of God.²⁹ Myths about combat against giants, heroes, ancient sea monsters, and even the Sea itself are all used together to depict the total dominance of YHWH over all of Israel's rivals and their gods. Some of these elements have perhaps lost their original mythic meanings as they were transported out of their original context and into an ancient Israelite one, but they still clearly function mythically in some sense. Job 26:5-14 demonstrates Murphy's stage one of the combat myth in the Hebrew Bible that recounts YHWH's divine power and victory over chaos as a present reality vis-à-vis the gods of Israel's neighbors.³⁰

2.3.2. *Psalm 74:12-17 (Stage Two)*

Written shortly after the destruction of the temple in 586 BCE, Psalm 74 is an example of Murphy's stage two of the evolution of the combat myth in the Hebrew

Marduk, the 'cleverest among the gods,' craftily captured *Ti'āmat* in a net." Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 29, also sees direct connections here between both the Babylonian myth of Marduk and Tiamat and the Canaanite myth of Baal's victory over Yamm.

28. David Wolfers, *Deep Things Out of Darkness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 245, keenly notes that the deity is not mentioned anywhere in the hymn: "It is of course possible to argue stubbornly that nevertheless these verses are about God, even though we cannot know why or by whom they are spoken." This is because, as he notes on pg. 243, this hymn appears to have been spliced into Job with various commentators taking different solutions as to who is speaking and to whom. See also Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 65, who also thinks that this section of Job was originally a psalm. Forsyth sees parallels in Job 26:5-14 to the Labbu myth, the *Baal Cycle*, and to the terrible voice of Huwawa.

29. Eloah, El, or Shaddai in Job 26, but not YHWH.

30. The date of the Book of Job is heavily debated, though it almost certainly comes after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE. It is still an example of Murphy's stage one text because it fits his categories for that stage. For a full discussion of scholarly opinion on Job's provenance, see Seow, *Job 1-21*, 39-45.

Bible.³¹ Verses 1-11 describe in detail the psalmist's dismay at the destruction of the temple and beg for YHWH to intercede once more. Verses 12-17 break with the previous 11 verses and begin a well-defined section of the psalm that rehearses the ancient cosmogonic myths applied to YHWH in the hope of rousing the deity to act again.³² Klaus Seybold argues these six verses represent a previously existing hymn of Canaanite origin that the psalmist inserted into the lament about the temple and exile, indicating yet again that the appropriations of the PCM in the Hebrew Bible were lifted from their cultural milieu and edited to fit the shape of Israel's theological vision.³³ Verses 18-23 return to the focus of the enemy who has destroyed the temple and the covenant that YHWH must remember.

There are multiple myths appropriated in verses 12-17 for the purposes of both cosmogonic victory and the assertion of divine kingship.³⁴ The section can be roughly

31. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 28. He lists this psalm specifically as an example, but his time period for stage two is the monarchic period, and since it was probably written after the destruction of the temple, it could fit in either stage two or stage three. It probably fits best in stage two because the actions of the enemy are still fresh as if they had recently happened, as opposed to stage three where the destruction of the temple and loss of land is a distinctly past event. The dating of Psalm 74 is by no means settled, as some argue for times up through the Maccabean period. For a discussion of dating Psalm 74, see Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erik Zenger, *Psalms 2*, Herm. Vol. 19, ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 243. See also Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, WBC 20 (Dallas: Word, 1990), 247, who, after considering multiple differing points of view, writes, "A date and setting among the people left behind in Palestine after 587 B.C.E. are highly probable." I will therefore side with the majority who place it in the first half of the 6th century BCE.

32. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 245, notes that the section is bookended by the use of אַרְץ, in v. 12 and v. 17. Hossfeld and Zenger point out that v. 12 is started by a "waw-adversative" (trans. "nevertheless") and the address to the deity in first person "my God."

33. Klaus Seybold, *Psalmen* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996), 287-89.

34. Some have tried to assert that Psalm 74:12-17 is a historicized myth regarding the exodus where the waters are the Red Sea and the chaos monsters represent Egypt, similar to the way Psalm 77 uses the PCM to mythologize the exodus event. However, this seems unlikely given the context of the psalm itself without any specific mention of Egypt or the historical setting of the biblical event. See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 247-249, for a rhetorical argument on why it cannot be historicized myth. See also Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, 243, 251, for a linguistic argument as to why פָּרַד, cannot mean "separate" or "divide" as is often translated by historicized myth proponents, but rather "shatter" or "break."

divided into two pieces. The first, 74:12-14, is the pre-time struggle of YHWH against chaos imagined as the Sea, a dragon, and Leviathan. The second, 74:15-17, portrays the results of YHWH's victory over that chaos as the establishment of divine order through day and night, seasons, and the flowing of rivers and boundaries of oceans.³⁵ Here there are clear connections to Canaanite myths of Baal fighting Yam (and perhaps to Marduk fighting Tiamat in the *Enuma Elish*) and the cosmic creation of El.³⁶ William Young proposes that these myths are not merely appropriated; rather there is here an intentional merging of Baal and El traditions to fit the Israelite monotheistic vision regarding YHWH who now claims the realms of both Canaanite deities, as well as all other gods.³⁷

The purpose of inserting a Canaanite mythic hymn into the psalmist's plea is to remind the deity of the ancient struggle against chaos and connect it to the present struggle against what felt like a very similar, world-order-threatening chaos. As Batto writes, "Is not the Babylonian havoc as much a defiance of divine sovereignty and a subversion of creation as the primordial battle with the seven-headed chaos monster?... It allowed [the exiles] to acknowledge that their world had been shattered without losing faith in Yahweh as the supreme ruler of heaven and earth."³⁸ By appropriating the hymn of their enemies, whether ancient or present, the psalmist assures those who would sing

35. Dennis Sylva, "Precreation and Discourse in Psalms 74 and 77: Struggling with Chaos Kämpfe," *RT* 18 (2011): 246.

36. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 148. For an example of a related Canaanite myth, see Andree Herdner, *Corpus des Tablettes en Cunéiformes Alphabétiques: Découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, 5.i. 1-3, 3.iii.35-39 Vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963), which mentions Baal fighting Lotan (Canaanite equivalent to Leviathan) in much the same manner as in Psalm 74. See also Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 1973), 112-20.

37. William A. Young, "Psalm 74: A Methodological and Exegetical Study," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Iowa, 1974), 174-224.

38. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 83.

this song that it is YHWH, and not some other deity, who is in complete control. The combat myth usually ends with the deity building a temple after victory, and it is perhaps for this reason over all others that the myth is invoked: the destruction of temple should rouse YHWH to act against the present chaos and rebuild the temple as a sign of cosmic victory.

2.3.3. *Isaiah 51:9-11 (Stage Three)*

Unlike the two examples above, Deutero-Isaiah juxtaposes ancient myth and history in order to reaffirm Israel's ancient faith. In v. 9 the writer harkens back to the "days of old" before rehearsing the destruction of the chaos monsters, Rahab, the dragon, and the Sea. Verse 10 continues by referencing YHWH's actions at creation to dry up תהום רבה, the great deep, alluding to Gen 1 and other similar accounts. The drying up of the great deep appears to be a fundamental act of creation that occurs not just at the creation of the world, but any time YHWH battles chaos, such as in Exod 15.³⁹ Indeed, v. 10 then shifts that language into a clear reference to the exodus event, "Who set in the depths of the sea a path for the redeemed to cross." Finally, the writer shifts once more to the future (or present time) where YHWH will once more act as before to save and liberate the covenant people.

These three verses take primordial time, historic past, and future (or present), as one continuous salvific act by YHWH. John Oswalt argues that the poet here does not rely on the mythic nature of these symbols, but rather uses them as stock imagery that is

39. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 76. Both the Babylonian and Canaanite myths use this theme as well. Batto argues on pgs. 82-86 that this act was so central to the myth that it is repeated in later texts even as other elements are dropped.

“familiar to his hearers but that is hardly part of their belief system,”⁴⁰ in order to make claims about YHWH. However, many others argue that the writer intentionally engages ancient myth in order to mythologize about Israel’s future.⁴¹ Klaus Baltzer writes that “the terminology and concepts here reflect an encounter with the surrounding world of the ancient Near East,”⁴² and finds a close parallel of four chaos monsters (raḥab, tannîn, yām, and tehôm) with Dan 7:2-3 where four monsters rise out of the sea.⁴³ This would indicate that the writer is engaging in mythopoeic speculation, that is “myth-making,” rather than simply using stock imagery.⁴⁴

However, as stated above, the PCM always appears in the primordial past, not in history. Is Isa 51:9-11 an exception? Theodor Seidl translates “days of old” in v. 9 as “primordial days” and maintains that by using such language the writer has set this myth outside of time.⁴⁵ Gunkel argues that the primeval myth is used to retell the exodus event

40. John Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, NICOT 22 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). Oswalt takes the side of Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1981), 169-80. See also John Oswalt, “The Myth of the Dragon and Old Testament Faith,” *EQ* 49 (1977): 163-72.

41. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 81, writes, “Certainly other biblical writers used Combat Myth motifs to great effect. Nowhere is this more evident than in Isaiah 51:9-11.... Here an exilic poet ... calls upon Yahweh to rouse himself from his rest and as in primeval times to slay the chaos monster anew.” Batto also writes on pg. 112, “Deutero-Isaiah is not content to retell the [combat] myth, simply substituting the name of Yahweh for that of Marduk or Baal. Through a process of mythopoeic speculation the poet reinterprets the combat myth with the sea-dragon as applying first and foremost to the exodus.” See also Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 30; Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 103.

42. Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, Herm. Vol. 23, trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 356.

43. *Ibid.*, 357.

44. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 12. This would fit either of his categories for mythopoeic speculation, either creating a new myth or extending an old myth to include new dimensions.

45. Theodor Seidl, “Jahwe der Krieger – Jahwe der Tröster. Kritik und Neuinterpretation der Schöpfungsvorstellungen in Jesaja 51,9-16,” *BN* 21 (1983): 123.

in mythic terms, rather than refer to it historically.⁴⁶ By placing the destruction of chaos personified by Pharaoh outside of time, the writer is then free to make the claim that YHWH continually engages in this sort of chaos-slaying to make new creation. Rahab is therefore at once the ancient chaos monster, Egypt, and Babylon. This is perhaps said best by Forsyth, who writes, “In this passage all the elements of our tradition are blended into a new version of the meaning of history...Here the historical event of the crossing and the mythological combat have become identical.”⁴⁷

2.3.4. *Conclusions*

From these examples it is rather easy to understand Murphy’s progression of stages of the myth. Job 26 recalled YHWH’s victory in purely mythic terms. Psalm 74 comes close to bringing the myth into history, but does not. Isaiah 51 moves toward mythicizing history by merging the primordial combat and exodus into the same event. In all these texts we have seen how the Israelite writers appropriated traditions about various gods and recast them in light of the theophanies of Israelite tradition. It is YHWH, not Marduk or Baal, who defeated primeval chaos, imagined as the Sea or sea monsters, and decreed order throughout the cosmos. And in Israelite tradition it is that same deity who continues that salvific action up through the present time by slaying the chaos monster anew. These writers did not create new myths, but rather changed an existing myth to fit their current circumstances. This progression through multiple stages highlights that the myth was not stagnant, but evolved over time.

46. Gunkel, *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton*, 22, writes, “It is, thus, undeniable that the myth of subduing Rahab is presupposed here and that the destruction of Pharaoh has been painted in this text using the pigments of that myth.”

47. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 104.

2.4. The Divine Warrior Myth (DWM) in the Ancient Near East

Ancient Near Eastern literature often depicts the deity entering combat alongside the king against physical armies in order to glorify the king.⁴⁸ As opposed to the PCM, which takes place in primordial time, the DWM is set in historic remembered time. The deity's actions in these battles are often depicted through astrological phenomena such as the movement of the stars, comets, the sun, and the moon, and as a result the enemy is frightened, routed, or annihilated. Additionally, these mythopoeic stories recorded in imperial annals often describe the deity giving great power, prowess, and success in battle to the king. These mythic accounts that tell of the divine warrior(s) have a common subset of characteristics:⁴⁹

- (1) Divine Instigation of Battle: The leader of the victorious people is told by the god(s) to venture into this military campaign.⁵⁰
- (2) Divine Entity Enters the Battle: The god(s) of the conquering army join the battle.⁵¹

48. Lori L. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence: A New Historicist Analysis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 96. In a real sense, the DWM served as legitimizing propaganda for the ruling dynasty.

49. For a few of these texts, see James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (ANET), 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 234-37, which describes the "Asiatic Campaigns" of Thutmose III. In these texts, Re and Amun specifically give victory to Pharaoh. See also, ANET 253-56 and 267-90.

50. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 85, lists a representative sample of six such places from ancient Egyptian texts, taken from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 29-34.

51. P. Xella, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, "Resheph," 701: "The god was officially adopted at the court of Amenophis II; the Pharaoh regarded this deity as his special protector during military enterprises." See also, Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 83, which quotes an Egyptian text which starts with "I gave you valor and victory ..." and continues to enumerate how the deity won the battle. Also, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, "The Deeds of Ancient Mesopotamian Kings," 2353, for a description of the 34 battles which Sargon won in which the gods are given the credit for his victories: "Sargon, king of Kish, won 34 battles.... Since the establishment of humankind, no king among kings had ever ravaged Armanum and Ebla. Nergal opened the road of Naram-Sin, the strong one, and gave

- (3) Divine Intervention through Meteorological Phenomena: The gods are often depicted doing combat through use of the sun, moon, comets, and stars. Divine participation in the battle usually also causes fear and confusion among the enemy.⁵²
- (4) Destruction of the Enemy: This includes destruction of the enemy's armies and economic resources, with varying divine participation and severity.⁵³
- (5) Victory: The conquering leader is the one who is victorious. While the participating deity has made the victory possible, the conquering leader is celebrated as the victorious hero.⁵⁴

him Armanum and Ebla ... thanks to the weapon of Dagan ... vanquished Armanum and Ebla." Specifically, it would not have been possible without Nergal opening the way, or without the "weapon of Dagan."

52. Jacob Milgrom *Numbers*, JPSTC 4 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989): 208. Milgrom quotes the poetical stela of Thutmose III at Gebal Barkal, where the god Amen-Re joined in the battle, saying: "I let them see your majesty as a shooting star, that scatters fire and it sheds its flame." Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 84, also quotes this stela. See also Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 92, quoting a Hittite text which speaks of a mighty storm god who showed his miracles by hurling comets that strike the land of the enemy, specifically the capital. See also Moshe Weinfeld, "'They Fought from Heaven': Divine Intervention in War in Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *EI* 14 (1978): 23-30. Weinfeld notes that the ANE gods Resheph (Egypt), Nergal (Babylon), and Apollo (Greece) use shooting stars or comets to destroy their enemies or sometimes to confuse them in battle. See also the Kadesh battle inscription of Rameses II in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, II*, 62-63. The god Amun-Re makes Pharaoh "like a flame when it consumes ... Lord of fear, great of fame ... [Casting Fear] in the foreigners' hearts." Finally, see Gregory Mobley, *The Empty Men* (New York: Doubleday, 2005), 62. Mobley notes that in Egypt, Seth was called the "Lord of Confusion," and at the end of the Code of Hammurabi, Ishtar "the lady of battle and conflict" is invoked to "create confusion" upon the enemy.

53. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 84, notes that in the poetic stela of Thutmose III, Amen-Re is depicted as stretching out his own hand to bind the enemy in fetters and that this is unique among these kinds of texts. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 89, sees the severity increase dramatically with Hittite and Assyrian texts, focusing on the torture of captured enemies and the complete annihilation of enemy lands.

54. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 85-86. Pharaoh is seen as "fighting singlehandedly, deserted by his troops, but aided by the god Amun ... enemy troops are unable to stand before the king because of his stout-hardheartedness in combat." See Lichtheim, 62-63, for the text. See also K. Lawson Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts: A Study in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical History Writing* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 141-44, which quotes the "Ten Year Annals of Mursili II," a Hittite king. Mursili implores the sun-goddess Arinna to stand beside him in battle, but then says, "... and she stood beside me ... I conquered these enemy countries." While the intervention of the deity is evident, ultimate credit goes toward the conquering king. Finally, see the "Hymn to Ninurta as a God of Wrath," in

(6) Captives Taken: The conqueror takes captives from among the defeated people.⁵⁵

While not all texts display all six characteristics, these can be said to form a baseline of expectation for the multiple related and interlocking myths that make up the DWM. The purpose of these myths appears to be propaganda for the elevation of the king and the royal city and the pantheon promoted by both. Here there is a confluence of the cosmic and historical related to “kingship, salvation, creation, and the building of temples,” which are accomplished through divine warfare of the deities and their hosts.⁵⁶ Therefore it appears that those who employed this myth felt that, in a very real sense, something was being accomplished through the writing, preserving, and retelling of these stories about divine warriors.

2.5. The Divine Warrior Myth in the Hebrew Bible

Stories of divine warriors also appear throughout the Hebrew Bible, mostly focusing on YHWH and YHWH’s host. Just as we saw above with the PCM, the DWM in the Hebrew Bible takes a distinct shape within Israelite religion. This is evident in the following two sample passages: Num 24:12-19 and Deut 33:2-5, 26-29.

ANET, 577. This Babylonian hymn declares that the king is endowed with power of the gods to vanquish the rebellious. The god Enlil endows the king with divine aid, but it is ultimately the king who achieves victory.

55. Rowlett, *Joshua and the Rhetoric of Violence*, 89, quotes a Hittite text, “[I took out] from [the conquered city] the inhabitants (as captives).” See also Lichtheim, 36, in the poetical stela of Thutmose III, Amen-Re says to the Pharaoh: “The northerners a hundred thousand captives. I made your enemies succumb beneath your soles.”

56. Patrick D. Miller, *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 64. Miller calls the DWM a “prime factor in the formation of Yahwism” and that it continued to be formational throughout Israel’s history. Although Miller mentions creation as a related theme to the DWM, he consistently insists on the historical context. On pg. 107 Miller writes, “In all cases, the picture of Yahweh and his council which is supposed to belong to the cosmic or mythopoeic realm, is set in a historical context and vice versa.”

2.5.1. Numbers 24:15-19

This passage is a poetic text similar to those found in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. First, God initiates the prophetic voice which tells of combat that is to come (v. 16). The second and third DWM characteristics outlined above appear to be combined in this text. Verse 17 declares that “a star will come out of Jacob, and a *šbt* will go out of Israel. It will crush the forehead of Moab and break down all the sons of Sheth.” Many scholars attribute this text to the early monarchy and see it as a prophecy of royal propaganda *ex eventu*.⁵⁷ Scholars who attribute this text to an early period typically want to translate *šbt* as scepter or tribe. This translation makes sense given the prophecy of Genesis 49 where Jacob declares that the scepter will not depart from Judah. The translation of *šbt* as scepter in Num 24:17, however, does not fit the parallelism of the poetry (*kōkab/šēbet*). One suggestion with merit is to translate *šbt* as “comet.” This is supported by an Aramaic cognate *šebîṭ* that refers to a shooting star that leaves a tail and thus gives the appearance of a scepter.⁵⁸ There is also an Akkadian cognate used to refer to the Egyptian god Nergal as *ša šibṭi*, “of the comet.”⁵⁹ The translation of *šbt* as “comet” not only fits the parallelism better but also fits the DWM of the ANE. In Num 24:17 it appears as though there was a real expectation that YHWH would join in the battle against Moab by throwing star(s) and comet(s) from the heavens, either directly or through one of the servants in his retinue. The fourth characteristic, destruction of the enemy, can be seen in v. 17c, “He will crush the foreheads of Moab.” Fifth, victory is

57. John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 24. Certainly this is what it eventually became.

58. Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, ABC 4 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 200.

59. Milgrom, *Numbers*, 208.

clearly stated in v. 18, “Edom will be conquered; Seir, his enemy, will be conquered.” This victory is enabled by YHWH entering combat through the stars and comets, but is primarily achieved by the “ruler” who “will come out of Jacob” (v. 19a). Sixth, in a move reminiscent of the Hittites and Assyrians, no captives will be taken (v. 19b) because the survivors of the city will be destroyed.

2.5.2. *Deuteronomy 33:2-5, 26-29*

According to Patrick Miller, Deut 33:2-5, 26-29 is a poetic text that describes YHWH and his heavenly armies leading the earthly armies of Israel to conquer Canaan.⁶⁰ Divine initiation of the battle is implied because the poem opens with YHWH’s act of shining forth. The second characteristic begins the text by describing YHWH going forth from his resting place, Sinai, along with his heavenly armies and “the warriors of the gods.”⁶¹ Verse 2 also describes a meteorological phenomenon related to the sun as YHWH “shone forth.” This verb, *hōpî’*, to “shine,” is used in the Hebrew Bible to describe the theophany of YHWH. Its cognates are used in Ugaritic texts to describe battle between the gods.⁶² Verses 4-5 describe the people of Israel in connection with God’s armies. The people have made YHWH king, and in return he has charged them with his divine law. After the intervening blessings, the hymn continues in v. 26 with a description of YHWH the warrior riding his chariot in the clouds.⁶³ The destruction of the enemy occurs in v. 27 when YHWH defeats the gods of Israel’s foes and commands

60. Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 75. I will use Miller’s translation, which he defends via vigorous exegesis in 75-87.

61. *Ibid.*, 76.

62. *Ibid.*, 77-78. After listing the Ugaritic evidence for the root word being used in the context of Baal battling Yam, Miller points to Psalm 80:2b-4 where the same verb is definitively used in a context of battle for the deliverance of the people.

63. *Ibid.*, 85.

Israel to “Destroy!” and engage in *hērem* – a complete destruction of the enemy.⁶⁴

Victory is attributed to YHWH alone and described in vv. 28-29 as living safely in a land of plenty. Finally, v. 29 describes the enemies of Israel in total servitude to Israel, saying that “you shall tread on their backs,” evoking the description of Baal treading on the back of Yam.⁶⁵

2.5.3. *Conclusions*

The above demonstration shows that the DWM as present in ANE literature also exists in the Hebrew Bible with some interesting modifications. First, YHWH alone is king, which is a central marker for Israelite mythopoeic speculation.⁶⁶ Second, even within the Hebrew Bible, there is notable variation on the myth. In Num 24, YHWH is enabling the victory of the ruler, evoking imagery similar to Pharaoh’s battles mentioned above. In contrast, Deut 33 pictures YHWH as the victorious king who fights on the battlefield. Third, both of these examples are detached from historical narrative, though they still function within history.⁶⁷ The modifications to the DWM that appear in the Hebrew Bible form a distinctly Israelite DWM that will be synthesized with the PCM in other places to form the Battlefield Myth.⁶⁸

64. Ibid., 85.

65. And therefore it is also reminiscent of YHWH treading on the back of Yam in Job 9:8.

66. Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald, 1980), 52. Lind calls this a “radical departure from ancient Near Eastern tradition,” linking it to 1 Sam 8:7-8 and the rejection of YHWH as king over the people in favor of a human one. In both Num 24 and Deut 33, there is no king other than YHWH, even when discussing the “ruler” (Num 24:19) and Moses who gave the law (Deut 33:4).

67. Num 24 describes a future hope for a time when Israel’s enemies will be crushed by a king. Deut 33 describes YHWH’s march through the wilderness and into the promised land before the narrative describes this occurring.

68. There does not appear to be an unmodified DWM present within the Hebrew Bible. Every example has been modified via Israelite theology, namely that YHWH is king and YHWH alone is

2.6. The Battlefield Myth: A Synthesis of Multiple ANE Myths with Israelite Theology

As shown above, Israelite writers appropriated and changed the myths of the ANE to suit their own theological vision. The ways that these writers appropriated the same myths also evolved over time. These two observations lay a foundation for the creation of a new myth within ancient Israel, the Battlefield Myth, which also evolved over time. I will now examine the following archetypes of this myth: Exod 14-15, Josh 10, and Judg 4-5. These passages are of interest for multiple reasons. As we will see, all three function as though they are within the context of an historic remembered battle but intertwine imagery of the PCM. Exodus 14-15 is regarded as an account of Israel's crossing the Sea where YHWH intervenes in direct combat against Pharaoh's armies. Joshua 10 and Judg 4-5 recount Israel's attempts to conquer Canaan, with both speaking mythically about the battle by using the sun, moon, and stars as active participants in the fight as though they are real beings.⁶⁹ Finally, I will show why these passages are not examples of either the PCM or DWM.

2.6.1. Exodus 14 and 15

Exodus 14 is a narrative text that recalls the Israelites' crossing of the Sea, and Exod 15, the so-called "Song of the Sea," follows in poetic form.⁷⁰ First, Pharaoh initiates the crisis (14:6-9) by chasing the Israelites into the desert and threatening the

victorious. The same is true for the PCM, as seen above, which does not see an unmodified version within the Hebrew Bible.

69. Tim Callahan, "Sun, Stand Thou Still: Let Myth Be Myth & Science Be Science," *Skep.* 7 (1999): 37.

70. This is not to say that Exod 14 and 15 were written by the same author. However, they were at some point juxtaposed, and I will therefore read them together.

community of the faithful. The armies of Pharaoh approach the Israelite camp (14:10) and move to engage the Israelite army (14:19-20). YHWH enters the battle, telling Moses, “YHWH will fight for you; you need only be still” (14:14). Verse 15:1 tells of YHWH’s actions, hurling horse and rider into the sea, and 15:3 introduces YHWH as a warrior. The actions of YHWH in ch. 15 are pictured as incredible natural phenomena: the blasts of his nostrils congeal the depths of the sea (15:8), and stretching out his arm yields massive earthquakes large enough to swallow whole armies (15:12). These natural phenomena are specifically described as causing fear in the hearts of neighboring nations (15:14-16). The armies of YHWH enter the fight as well when the “angel of YHWH” stands between Pharaoh’s armies and Israel, preventing Israel from engaging in combat. Instead, YHWH alone is attested to have destroyed the armies of Pharaoh entirely (14:28 “not one of them survived”). Exod 14 and 15 attribute victory to YHWH alone. While YHWH works through Moses stretching out his hand (14:21, 26), the victory is solely attributed to YHWH (14:30). This results in the salvation of the community of the faithful. Finally, there is a victory song after the narrative account of YHWH’s victory.

Exodus 14-15 represents a combination and evolution of the PCM and the DWM. First, unlike the ANE DWM, the text makes a clear move to make Pharaoh the instigator because Pharaoh realizes his mistake and rushes out to meet the Israelites in v. 5. Second, in a direct shift from the DWM, where the conquering earthly army takes captives, there are no captives in this text.⁷¹ Finally, Exod 14-15 also clearly displays elements of the PCM. In 14:21 it says that God drove back the sea with a strong רוח, which is highly

71. Perhaps YHWH takes captives by dragging them down into the depths. Even if this is the case, the earthly armies do not take captives which was a direct source of propaganda and fame for royal mythology.

reminiscent of the PCM accounts above, such as Gen 1:2 where God's רוח is hovering above the waters. Also, by driving back the sea, הים, the writer echoes the PCM where in primordial times Baal battles Yam or YHWH battles the chaos monster.⁷² The mythopoeic speculation found in Exod 14-15 is clearly pulling from PCM and DWM motifs, but it has evolved beyond them to form something entirely new. This new myth evokes images of primordial combat against chaos, but instead of taking place in primordial time it is set during an historic remembered battle.⁷³ The divine participation in this battle against physical enemies therefore happens *through* primordial combat motifs.

2.6.2. *Joshua 10*

The narrative of Josh 10 also exhibits a synthesis of ANE myth unique to the Hebrew Bible. The text begins with the Amorites threatening the Gibeonites. Although the Gibeonites are not Israelites, they made a treaty of non-violence with Joshua in ch. 9, and thus they are at least peripherally part of the covenant people. When the armies of the Amorites move to attack Gibeon (v. 5) the army of Joshua moves to defend (v. 7). YHWH enters the battle by throwing the enemy into confusion (v. 10) and throwing huge stones upon the enemy (v. 11), killing more of the enemy than Israel did with the sword. Next, YHWH's divine armies enter the battle through the actions of the sun and moon (vv. 12-13).⁷⁴ The results of this divine combat are that Joshua and the Israelites take

72. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon*, 133. See also Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 94-95.

73. Exod 14-15 attaches the story to a narrative and thus sets it in remembered time. It is therefore doing something very different from Isa 51 discussed above. Isa 51, written much later than Exod 14-15, makes a new move to blend the ancient combat and historical exodus into one event.

74. Robert G. Boling, *Joshua*, ABC 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1982), 284. Furthermore, in Assyrian texts, the sun and moon appearing in the sky working in concert is a good omen. Also, the actions

multiple cities and large amounts of land (vv. 28-42, specifically v. 40). Although Joshua and the army of Israel triumphed on the battlefield because of YHWH's help, the text makes an interesting departure from the DWM: YHWH kills more enemies with his large stones than Israel's entire army (v. 11). As seen above, DWM accounts from other nations portray the deity empowering the ruler or his army to kill many more than would otherwise be possible and reap the resulting glory. However, in Josh 10, it is YHWH that is the hero who slaughters the enemy in great numbers, not YHWH's earthly ruler, Joshua. Furthermore, the chapter closes in v. 42 with this summary: "All these kings and their lands Joshua conquered in one campaign, because YHWH, the God of Israel, fought for Israel."⁷⁵ The narrative of the battle is accompanied by a brief refrain of victory poetry in vv. 12-13 attributed to the now-lost Book of Jashar.⁷⁶

Joshua 10 clearly takes elements of the PCM and the DWM and combines them in ways distinct to the Hebrew Bible. The PCM is barely noticeable in vv. 12-13. Trent Butler notes that Joshua's prayer *to* the sun and moon is reminiscent of Gen 1 where the sun and moon are also not given names as pagan deities would be. Just as in Gen 1, YHWH does not do battle against these heavenly entities, but uses them to fight chaos, represented in Josh 10 by the Amorites.⁷⁷ Therefore we once again see divine combat

of YHWH throwing down stones from Heaven and the action of the sun and moon make this text parallel to the Gebal Barkal stela mentioned above where Re sends down a comet in support of Thutmose.

75. The focus of the narrative is on YHWH and YHWH's victory rather than on Joshua and his armies. This is a direct reversal of a major theme within the DWM.

76. Trent C. Butler, *Joshua*, WBC 7 (Waco, TX: Word, 2009), 116-17. It is possible that there was originally a longer victory poem which the writer of Joshua is excerpting from.

77. Butler, *Joshua*, 117. While these could be names of deities, Butler argues that their use in the text is not indicative of their existence as other gods, but rather as servants of YHWH, such as members of the divine council. Certainly the text could be interpreted as prayer to sun and moon gods, but I will follow Butler.

happening through primordial forces. The DWM is slightly more visible when in vv. 16-18 Joshua takes the five kings as captives and then executes them. Furthermore, Joshua completely destroys his enemy by sacking all their cities and killing everyone in them, with the repeated phrase “he left no survivors” (vv. 28, 30, 37, 39, 40). However, even this is different than the ANE DWM because as Joshua is getting ready to execute the kings he says to the Israelites, “This is what YHWH will do to all the enemies you will fight” (v. 25). Thus, even the taking and execution of captives is directly attributed to YHWH and not Joshua or the Israelites.

2.6.3. Judges 4 and 5

The narrative description of Deborah’s battle against Sisera in Judg 4, followed by a poetic celebration of victory in Judg 5, also exhibits a confluence of ANE myth unique to the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁸ The text begins with Jabin, king of Hazor, threatening the community of the faithful (4:2-3).⁷⁹ Earthly combatants march onto the battlefield represented by Sisera’s army of iron chariots (4:3) and Israel’s army of 10,000 men (4:10). YHWH enters combat in 4:15, “And YHWH threw Sisera and all his chariots and all his army into a panic.” YHWH’s armies also enter the battle in 5:20-21 during the poetic retelling of the story and are wielding primordial forces. The results of the divine battle have the direct consequence of forty years of peace (freedom) for the Israelites

78. As with Exod 14 and 15, I am not claiming that Judg 4 and 5 were written together. However, their juxtaposition enables interpretation of the two texts that are clearly related thematically. Placed side-by-side, these texts create something new; read separately they do not synthesize into a new myth.

79. It might be said that YHWH instigates this conflict by allowing Jabin to conquer and oppress the Israelites because of their sins. However, this would at best be implicit while the conflict is explicitly instigated by Jabin: “Because he had nine hundred chariots fitted with iron and had cruelly oppressed the Israelites for twenty years, they cried to the Lord for help” (Judg 4:3).

(5:31). This victory is attributed directly to YHWH (4:23, 5:4-5). A full song of victory after the narrative concludes the mythic text.

The text of Judg 4-5 is another example of the DWM and PCM appearing together to create a new myth. There are common features of the ANE DWM, such as YHWH throwing the enemy into a panic, and some features of the Israelite DWM such as YHWH receiving full credit for the victory. However, of particular interest is 5:20-21 where it says that the stars, which Susan Niditch claims function as YHWH's foot soldiers, fight against Sisera from the heavens.⁸⁰ While a deity's armies entering the battle clearly fits the DWM, it also appears related to the Ugaritic PCM, though how is debated.⁸¹ Some argue that the stars represent Deborah and her army just as the stars represent Anat and her host in Ugaritic myth.⁸² Others reject any attempt to make Deborah analogous to Anat and instead argue that it is more likely the imagery is tied to the Ugaritic myth of the stars as the source of rain. They would therefore be heavenly hosts fighting against Deborah's enemies by pouring down the rain that makes Sisera's chariots useless.⁸³ This rain is described in 5:21 as the primordial floodwaters.⁸⁴ Just as in Exod 14-15 and Josh 10 above, divine combat in this text takes place through primordial

80. Susan Niditch, *Judges*, OTL 7 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 80. According to Niditch, the stars function as foot soldiers for other deities in the ANE.

81. Thomas McDaniel, *Deborah Never Sang* (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing, 1983), 228-29. McDaniel calls these possibilities "only remotely possible," and thus there is a complete spectrum of scholars from those who see little correlation to those who see ultra-mythic correlation.

82. Peter C. Craigie, "Three Ugaritic Notes on the Song of Deborah," *JSOT* 2 (1977): 35-37.

83. Trent Butler, *Judges*, WBC 7 (Dallas, TX: Word Books, 2009), 152. The reason for Sisera's chariots being useless is not explained in the prose of ch. 4.

84. Niditch, *Judges*, 80. Contra Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 98, who argues that the flooding Kishon is purely a naturalistic event of the elements joining in the war against Israel's foes. Niditch, *Judges*, 78, argues that the "temporal battles have cosmic participants and consequences." One of those cosmic participants is the "ancient" or "primordial" river Kishon that here functions as the chaotic water found at creation.

combat set within historic remembered time. Perhaps another allusion to the PCM is found in the act of Jael who crushes the head of Sisera (Judg 4:21; 5:26-27), echoing the act of YHWH who crushed the head of the ancient chaos dragon.

2.6.4. Conclusions

We have seen in Exod 14-15 and Judg 4-5 that the redactor placed mythic poetry and prose together. When read side-by-side, the narrative and poetry representing the DWM and PCM, respectively, produce something new. That these texts were juxtaposed for the purpose of creating a new entity could explain why later Jewish texts, which we will examine in the following chapter, merged the two rather than continuing to juxtapose them. Joshua 10, while containing some PCM-related poetry, does not follow the same pattern of the other two texts and shows that the Battlefield Myth does not necessarily require full accounts in both poetry and prose to be present.

2.7. Summary and Analysis

The sample texts above clearly demonstrate a distinct synthesis of ANE myth within the Hebrew Bible where the PCM and DWM flow together. From the above examples, we can conclude that this new iteration of ancient myth generally has the following characteristics in the Hebrew Bible:

- (1) Covenant People Are Threatened: This is in direct contrast to the ANE DWM that begins with the divine instigation of battle. Here it shares much more in common with the PCM where chaos threatens to destroy the order of the cosmos.
- (2) Mortal Armies: The physical armies of two nations move to engage in battle.
- (3) YHWH Enters the Battle: YHWH fights against the enemies of the covenant

people through conventional and primordial combat.

- (4) YHWH's Armies Enter the Battle: This takes the shape of YHWH's divine council or host. Sometimes it takes the shape of stars, comets, other meteorological phenomena, or natural phenomena, which cause fear in the enemy. These armies also fight using conventional and primordial combat.
- (5) Results of Divine Combat Have Effects on Earth: The covenant people are saved from the imminent threat that sparked the conflict.
- (6) YHWH Triumphs: YHWH alone is victorious. This is in direct contrast to the ANE DWM because the deity alone achieves victory, rather than supporting the king's victory. This victory occurs with or without mortal participation.
- (7) Song Recounting Victory: Often the poetry includes more mythic elements than the narrative prose.

As with our lists for the ANE PCM and DWM, not all texts display every characteristic. Rather, the list of characteristics above provides the core from which to proceed out toward the fringes.

While all three texts that we examined fit our model of the Battlefield Myth, they do not all use it in the same way. We can therefore say that the Battlefield Myth is used in two distinct ways within the Hebrew Bible:

- (1) Passive: In Exod 14-15, YHWH fights against the enemy and his armies without any human participation or aid.
- (2) Synergistic: In Josh 10, Joshua's armies fight alongside YHWH and YHWH's hosts, even though YHWH kills more than the human armies. In Judg 4-5,

YHWH and the human armies fight together and both seem to pull equal weight.

2.8. Conclusions

This question now arises: why would ancient peoples have constructed the Battlefield Myth out of the PCM and the DWM? As discussed in the next chapter, the ways that the biblical writers imagined God fighting for them and destroying their enemies says quite a bit about how they themselves intend to fight those enemies. In short, Battlefield Myth texts help envision resistance. However, the ways that the various biblical writers imagined God destroying their enemies vary greatly from text to text – even in this short survey – and this will prove to be true in the texts that appropriate the myth during the Second Temple period.

While it is helpful to judge texts like Josh 10 in the milieu supposed by the text itself, it is therefore also helpful to ask what sort of community would be interested in preserving a vision of the Battlefield Myth like the one in the text? Some groups in the Second Temple Period probably preferred non-violence,⁸⁵ while others such as those connected with the Maccabees preferred armed revolt, and other groups, such as the so-called “Enochic community,” filled in positions in-between.⁸⁶ A question for any Battlefield Myth text, therefore, is thus: is the text fueling violent revolt, unarmed subversive resistance, or something in-between?

85. E.g., the Damascus Document forbids the killing of Gentiles.

86. John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC 30 (Dallas: Word, 1989), 329. Goldingay notes that the *maskilim* (“discerning ones”) in Daniel should be linked to the Hasidim, the historical group that was concerned with faithful observance to the Torah, but not with the specific Hasidim mentioned in 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12-13; 2 Macc 14:6, who fought for the right to practice Torah using violence. Goldingay argues for Hasidim in the broad and not narrow sense because the writer of Maccabees obviously has a pro-Hasmonean agenda.

The biblical writers appropriated the myths of the ANE, editing them to suit their own theological vision, and these myths evolved along the way. One of these innovations resulted in the Battlefield Myth. Jewish writers of the Second Temple period continued this tradition by appropriating the Battlefield Myth for their own unique theological agenda. The writers of texts like Daniel, 1 Enoch, Assumption of Moses, Jubilees, 1-2 Maccabees, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch all differently appropriate the Battlefield Myth to envision resistance in the face of pagan empires during the late Second Temple Period. So also the writers of the New Testament, in texts such as Ephesians and Revelation, use the Battlefield Myth to instruct Christians on resistance. In chapter 3, these texts will be considered to see how the Battlefield Myth continued to evolve and what can be learned about the communities that understood their own place in the conflicts of their time through these myths.

CHAPTER III

THE APOCALYPTIC EVOLUTION OF BATTLEFIELD MYTH

3.1. Introduction

The religious persecution carried out by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, such as the desecration of the temple and the prohibition of circumcision and dietary laws (1 Macc 1:20-28; 2 Macc 6:1-11), sparked the Maccabean revolt in 167 BCE.¹ It was in this time of immense turmoil that many Jews reached for ancient myth from sacred text to tell new stories about how they would resist the oppression of empire, utilizing the apocalyptic genre.² They used these apocalypses to persuade readers that YHWH controlled the present state of the world by examining the past and predicting the future. Through claimed authority from divine revelation and an imaginative retelling of Scripture, these authors wrote new texts to reassert identity and status in the face of religious persecution and imperial domination. It is in these apocalypses and related literature that faithful Jews worked out two important implications: (1) How will we be saved from our oppressors? (2) What role does the community of the faithful have in this conflict? The answers to these questions are not necessarily identical; they fall along a spectrum ranging from martyrdom to militancy. Many writers appropriated the Battlefield Myth to describe their theology of resistance, often in different ways, and nuanced by their stance on whether

1. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 74.

2. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War," 597. Collins calls this time in history the "high point of Jewish apocalyptic." We will define "apocalypse" and related terms below.

faith prohibits, permits, or even actively encourages violent resistance. Some used the myth as it always had been used, transplanting it directly from Scripture into their narratives to support holy war. Other writers used the myth in new ways, causing an apocalyptic evolution of the myth.

Before considering the different texts that adapted the ancient Israelite Battlefield Myth, we must first consider a definition of “apocalypse,” its function, and why resistance to empire is an interlocking concept.

3.2. Apocalypse: Genre and Function

3.2.1. Definition, Critique, and Prototype Theory

What is an “apocalypse” or the “apocalyptic genre”? These are difficult terms to firmly determine for two reasons. First, the qualities and characteristics that determine the core identity of this genre have been heavily debated by scholars since at least 1832.³ Second, the texts themselves do not achieve any sort of standardized pattern. Determining which texts fit into this genre and which ones do not is a difficult problem because so many of them share ideas, symbols, and a common worldview, but differ in style, structure, and setting. This task was undertaken by a Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) task force, and in 1979 they presented their findings.⁴ They defined “apocalypse” as:

A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁵

3. John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 3.

4. John J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Sem. 14 (Chico, CA: Scholar’s Press, 1979).

5. *Ibid.*, 2.

Others have tried to approach the subject in different ways than the definition given above, but I will follow Collins.⁶

Etic approaches to defining the genre such as these are not without their problems. Many scholars have challenged such attempts at a classification system, arguing for a much more emic approach,⁷ or that such a list of characteristics is simply a list of things appearing in modern categories of literature,⁸ or that perhaps the whole enterprise of generic classification is impossible.⁹ However, the approach taken in *Semeia 14*, although slightly now outdated, is still valid. Carol Newsom compares the approach in that volume to the simultaneously developing “prototype theory” from cognitive science, which proposed that human recognition uses a core-fringe model.¹⁰ For example, humans will recognize that a robin is more central to the category of *bird* than an ostrich, or that a kitchen chair is more central to the classification of chairs than a piano stool. Rather than strict boundaries and edges, humans tend to classify things by way of a prototypical

6. For instance, see the followings works that seek to define apocalypticism in different ways: E. P. Sanders, “The Genre of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypses,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983): 447-59; Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982); Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1997).

7. C. Fletcher-Louis, “Jewish Apocalyptic and Apocalypticism,” in *The Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, eds. S. E. Porter and T. Holmen, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 2.1569-1607 (1582). He writes that the approach in *Semeia 14* is “unhelpfully circular,” and that the “starting point ... should be the conventions, expectations and intentions of ancient authors,” rather than what modern scholars back-project into them.

8. Philipp Vielhauer, “Apocalypses and Related Subjects,” in *New Testament Apocrypha II*, trans. R. M. Wilson, eds. R. M. Wilson, E. Hennecke, and W. Schneemelcher (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 581-607.

9. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 439. Newsom, critiquing the attempts to define the genre of apocalypse, quotes Adena Rosmarin, *The Power of Genre* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985) 21-22, who calls genre an intentional category error where two things that are not the same are brought together as if they were the same.

10. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 443, cf. Rosch, “Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories,” 192-233.

example that fades in the fringes where things can overlap with other types.¹¹ This approach should be taken with defining “apocalypse.” John Collins writes that the “corpus of texts that has been traditionally called ‘apocalyptic’ does indeed share a significant cluster of traits that distinguish it from other works.”¹² Armed with prototype theory and a cluster of traits, we are able to “distinguish between texts that are highly typical and those that are less typical.”¹³

What links all of these texts, from more typical to less typical, is a shared worldview, often called “apocalypticism,” which Paul Hanson defines as “the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and interpretation of reality.”¹⁴ This term is useful because many texts do not fit the criteria laid out in *Semeia 14* and yet, using the prototype model, could be considered an apocalypse. In a related manner, an early Jewish group could be considered apocalyptic even if they did not technically produce an apocalypse because their community shared this apocalyptic worldview.¹⁵ A good example of this is the Dead Sea Scrolls community because the group did not produce an original apocalypse in their sectarian scrolls, but were certainly influenced by apocalypticism.¹⁶ With this in mind, Collins supplements Hanson’s

11. John Frow, *Genre* (London: Routledge, 2006), 54.

12. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 4.

13. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 13.

14. Paul D. Hanson, “Apocalypticism,” *IDB 5 Supplementary Volume*: 27-34.

15. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 12.

16. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 203. The community did have at least eight copies of Daniel and most of 1 Enoch has been found there. They did not, however, write their own apocalypse. However, the sectarian scrolls clearly exhibit many key characteristics of apocalypticism. For a defense of this, see James C. VanderKam, “Apocalyptic Tradition in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 113-34.

definition, writing, “A movement might reasonably be called apocalyptic if it shared the conceptual framework of the genre, endorsing a worldview in which supernatural revelation, the heavenly world, and eschatological judgment played essential parts.”¹⁷ This approach allows the fluidity of the prototype model to be applied to the genre of apocalypse where we say that all so-called “apocalyptic” texts, from the core to the fringe, were influenced by apocalypticism, regardless of how many of the traits – or which ones – each one displays.

Prototype theory is also useful for discussing the Battlefield Myth as it was influenced by apocalypticism in the late Second Temple Period. The core texts discussed in chapter 2 are the easily recognizable prototypes of the myth. As these texts were influenced by apocalypticism, they evolved, adding some characteristics and dropping others, as shown in the discussion below. It is possible to critique an attempt to describe the development of the Battlefield Myth in Second Temple literature by suggesting that perhaps the writers were simply pulling from a collection of related war traditions already present in their socio-religious milieu and not on one specific type of myth. However, this critique suffers from the same problems as those discussed above regarding the genre of apocalypse. It is certainly possible to see variation from prototypes and still recognize it as “that sort of text.”¹⁸ Collins, following Newsom, writes that their analysis of genre in *Semeia 14* was based on more than a simple list of elements, but rather “on something like a *Gestalt* notion of the way these elements related to each other. Many elements in the grid against which the texts are measured are optional, but some bear structural

17. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 13.

18. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 444.

weight, as they shape an implied view of the world.”¹⁹ Prototype theory therefore seems to be a useful model for understanding the evolution and growth of the Battlefield Myth in the Second Temple Period. Some texts, such as *The Animal Apocalypse*, will be closer to the ancient Israelite core, while other texts, such as Jubilees, will be on the very fringe.

3.2.2. *Function of Apocalyptic Texts*

A natural question then follows the definition of the genre: why did ancient people write these apocalyptic texts? What were they hoping to achieve? These are difficult questions that cannot be fully answered. However, a very general answer will suffice. In 1986 another SBL task force proposed one such general definition of the function of the apocalyptic genre:

They are intended to interpret the present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority.²⁰

In a similar vein, David Noel Freedman summarizes the function of the genre as, “formulated to express, in mythic and exotic language, the fervent expectation of an oppressed, marginalized community for an imminent crisis-resolution which was articulated as an eschatological overthrow of the ruling powers and a justification of the community.”²¹ Similarly and more recently, David Aune writes that the genre can be understood to function as “protest literature” representing the opinions of a small and oppressed minority.²² Indeed, many have written on how apocalyptic literature may be

19. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 7.

20. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, Sem. 36 (Decatur, GA: Scholar’s Press, 1986).

21. David Noel Freedman, “The Flowering of Apocalyptic,” *JTC* 6 (1969): 166.

22. David E. Aune, “Understanding Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic,” *WW* 25 (2005): 235.

considered “resistance literature.”²³ Richard Horsley, who does not recognize a distinct apocalyptic genre writes that the most salient feature of apocalyptic texts is that they all protest and struggle against imperial domination.²⁴

3.2.3. *The Apocalypse as Resistance Literature*

An empire seeks to dominate those conquered subjects within its territory by breaking apart existing power structures and their narratives and reshaping them into that which will support the empire. Resistance seeks to counter these claims and actions through its own effective action.²⁵ Anatheia Portier-Young describes effective action as any act that “aims to limit, oppose, reject, or transform hegemonic institutions and cosmologies as well as systems, strategies, and acts of domination.”²⁶ In this manner, resistance could include anything from armed revolt to “silent foot-dragging” and everything in-between.²⁷ According to James C. Scott, writers of resistance literature often choose anonymity to (1) prevent unsuccessful acts of rebellion, (2) protect the users

23. For a lengthy status quaestionis on issues pertaining to the definition and function of apocalyptic genre and related literature, see Lorenzo Dittommaso, “Apocalypses and Apocalypticism in Antiquity (Part I),” *CBR* 5 (2007): 235-86. See also Samuel K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead: Studies in Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334-31 B.C.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961); Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*, vol. 2 of *From the Exile to the Maccabees*, trans. John Bowden (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

24. Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 4.

25. Anatheia Portier-Young, *Apocalypse against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 44. This study will follow Portier-Young’s definition of resistance and its use in early Jewish apocalyptic texts. After a survey of definitions of resistance, she concludes with these key points: “(1) The conditions and objects of resistance are domination, its strategies, and the hegemony that reinforces it. (2) Acts of resistance aim to limit, oppose, reject, or transform hegemonic institutions and cosmologies as well as systems and strategies, and acts of domination. (3) Resistance is effective action.”

26. *Ibid.*, 379.

27. *Ibid.*, 6.

(writer and readers), and (3) enable a subversive message to circulate widely.²⁸ However, the writers of the apocalyptic literature that I will review below did not choose anonymity, but rather pseudonymity. This significantly changes the discursive strategy of the writer.

In the early Jewish apocalypses analyzed by Portier-Young, the writers of Daniel and 1 Enoch were mostly attempting the opposite of Scott's purposes for anonymity, which she ties to the choice of pseudonymity rather than anonymity.²⁹ Through pseudonymity the writer relinquishes his own authority and instead claims the authority from the past. This subversive act places the root of authority outside of the empire, its power structure, and anything it can control, providing "an alternative source of power and alternative vision of reality to counter imperial claims."³⁰

In historical apocalyptic texts this vision of reality is provided by God who ordained the past, present, and future long before any empires rose to dominate the faithful for whom the apocalypse is written. This vision places everything, whether it is good or bad, dominators or dominated, under divine control and provides a drastically different narrative than that of the imperial hegemony. That narrative of apocalypticism is one that upends reality and places it on its head; God is working to reorder the whole cosmos. The strategy of pseudonymity in apocalyptic texts therefore encourages the readers into resistance by placing them as participants within this alternative vision of

28. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). I am indebted to Portier-Young for these categories gathered broadly from Scott's work.

29. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 38-40. She argues that these books attempted to encourage the readers into resistance.

30. *Ibid.*, 42-43.

reality to which the writer appeals. These readers are called to participate in the reification of reality that God is working to create, whether it is through martyrdom, armed resistance, or something in-between.³¹

John Collins notes that apocalyptic texts in the Second Temple Period often fantasized solutions to the theological dilemma of violence against imperial oppression by using the Primordial Combat Myth (PCM).³² However, it is often more than just the PCM, it is the Battlefield Myth. In the following sections, we will consider how writers appropriated the Battlefield Myth within apocalyptic texts in order to promote their own theology of resistance. Understanding the general trajectory of the Battlefield Myth will reveal a spectrum of resistance within early Judaism. This will help to identify the different resistance theologies found within the *War Scroll* and provide exemplars with which to compare it.

3.3. Daniel: The Apocalyptic Evolution of the Battlefield Myth

Just as Israelite theology shaped the DWM and PCM into a new myth, the Battlefield Myth, the advent of apocalypticism continued its evolution. Dan 7-12 was composed during the Maccabean revolt and can be classified as apocalyptic literature.³³ In order to speak to an oppressed minority during the Maccabean crisis, the writer of Daniel 7-12 recalls the Battlefield Myth of Israel's past and uses apocalypticism to make it relevant to his time. This changes the Battlefield Myth in new ways, and one significant example within Dan 7-12 is found in ch. 10.

31. Ibid., 43.

32. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 314-17. Collins, 320, mentions different fantasized solutions to the problem of violence in the current age such as those found in 1 Enoch, Daniel, Maccabees, the *Testament of Moses*, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Each of these is discussed below.

33. John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 12.

3.3.1. *Daniel 10*

Daniel 10 contains most of the same elements as Exod 14-15, Josh 10, and Judg 4-5, but they appear in new ways. The community of the faithful in Daniel are already oppressed by empire, and Daniel's vision reveals they are now directly threatened by a coming "great war" (v. 1).³⁴ This is different from previous examples because the war mentioned in the text is not visible to the threatened community at the time of the vision, thus the need for its revelation. The armies featured in the text are both mortal and supernatural, fighting related battles with related outcomes. Rather than join in this fight, Daniel fasts and prays, which reveals combat against other supernatural beings not evident until the angel Michael appears (10:2-5, 13).³⁵

Unlike the texts above, YHWH does not specifically enter into the supernatural battle in this pericope. However, 10:5-6 describes an angelic being whose divine status is ambiguous, but Collins notes that a similar figure in 8:11, the "prince of the host," is "apparently the God of Israel."³⁶ While YHWH's participation remains ambiguous, YHWH's armies fight against spiritual forces. An angel appears to Daniel after a protracted period of combat with another angelic being. He mentions that his combat was aided by an ally, Michael, "one of the chief princes," against "the prince of the Persian kingdom" (10:13) who appears to be a supernatural enemy.³⁷ The result of this divine

34. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 224. Portier-Young cites multiple studies on Daniel as resistance literature.

35. Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. DiLella, *Daniel*, ABC 23 (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 282.

36. John J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Herm. 27 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 375.

37. Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 284. The divine combat in Daniel alludes to these angelic beings leading armies that fight battles in the heavens that determine the outcome of their related earthly battles. In

combat has direct consequences on Earth, though they are now framed as mere side-effects of the heavenly conflict.³⁸ Finally, unlike the other exemplars of the Battlefield Myth within the Hebrew Bible, Dan 10 does not contain a victory hymn nor does one follow.

Daniel 10 appropriates the Battlefield Myth in very new ways.³⁹ In doing so, it deliberately draws from and builds upon the passive traditions of the myth rather than the synergistic ones. The writer of Dan 10 sees an angelic army fighting on behalf of Israel in the heavens, but does not see a place for mortals to engage in the parallel battles with their earthly enemies. Instead, the writer encourages readers to act like Daniel who fasts and prays, which influences the conflict in non-violent ways. Unlike any of the ancient Battlefield Myth exemplars, the writer here places the battle entirely in the heavens, without calling for the faithful to join the conflict.⁴⁰ The text after this pericope reveals that those connected with the writing of Daniel, the *maskilim* (“those who make [others] wise”), are called to teach in spite of great persecution rather than join a militaristic solution to the ongoing Seleucid crisis (11:33-35).⁴¹ The *maskilim* have greater expectations than winning a particular battle or war against one nation, imagining a much

2 Macc 5:1-4 there is a more explicit description of the same kind of heavenly combat that suggests full armies fighting in the heavens.

38. Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 284. The content of the vision is that of a “great war” (10:1); the angelic being will return to the fight against Persia, and when he does the “prince of Greece” will join the fight (10:20). So it seems that the heavenly battle presumes earthly changes as a result.

39. Many have associated Dan 10 with the ANE DWM. See Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel*, 284; John J. Collins, “Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death,” *CBQ* 36 (1974): 32-33.

40. As mentioned above, mortal armies are presupposed, though not explicitly described. However, the battle that Daniel and the *maskilim* care about will take place entirely in the heavens. The result of this heavenly conflict will result in complete eschatological victory.

41. Goldingay, *Daniel*, 329.

more grandiose vision for eschatological victory than the Maccabees can provide.⁴²

Elements of the PCM incorporated into the Battlefield Myth, such as primordial combat, are not found in Dan 10, but these mythic themes certainly appear in the broader context of chapters 7-12.⁴³ For instance, when the battle occurs it will take place through primordial combat, such as beasts from the sea (7:2-3). Finally, the writer also places these cosmic battles in remembered time and not in primordial time. Even though the vision places the events in the future, this is merely a literary device of the apocalyptic genre. Portier-Young writes, “If the scroll is now being read, it stands to reason that the seal has been broken and wisdom has now been given: the end time, the hour of witnessing, the seventh week is now.”⁴⁴

3.3.2. Analysis and Summary

Daniel is a turning point in the myth’s development.⁴⁵ It is clear from the above example that it pushes away from the core of the Battlefield Myth into an area overlapping apocalypticism, which I will call the apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth. Daniel 10, and more broadly Dan 7-12, uses this ancient myth to develop a very different response to the violence taking place at the time. The Maccabees and their reaction to the crisis with armed revolt are identified in Daniel disparagingly as “a little

42. Gordon Zerbe, “‘Pacifism’ and ‘Passive Resistance,’” *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Press, 1993), 75.

43. For instance, in 7:2-3 winds churn up the sea, followed by four beasts rising from it. Goldingay, *Daniel*, 160, ties this to primordial themes found in Gen 1:2. Goldingay, however, brings up evidence that “the great sea” mentioned here is not referring to a mythological sea, but rather the Mediterranean. Collins, *Daniel*, 294-95, defends the mythological context of this verse. First, in the *Enuma Elish*, Marduk uses “the four winds” to corner Tiamat. Second, and more importantly, the “great sea” is stirred up. Collins notes that, “the verb ‘to stir up’ (גיא) is also used in Job 38:8 with reference to the sea, when God confined it at creation.”

44. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 38-39.

45. Collins, “The Mythology of Holy War,” 597.

help” (11:34).⁴⁶ John Collins has rightly commented that “Daniel is fundamentally resistance literature – the articulation of a stance of refusal toward the demands of the Seleucid empire.”⁴⁷ Through the transformation and creation of the apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth, Daniel moves toward non-violent resistance.⁴⁸ The primary evidence for active, but unarmed, resistance is the final battle and the non-violent role of the elect in it. For instance, the writer of Daniel advocates for maintaining the covenant (11:32), suffering (11:35), and waiting (12:12). Nowhere in Dan 7-12 does the writer advocate for armed resistance either now or in the coming intervention of YHWH.

3.4. Enochic Tradition and the Battlefield Myth

1 Enoch represents a collection of apocalyptic writings, the earliest of which date to just before the Maccabean revolt.⁴⁹ While scholars have argued at length over whether or not the Enochic writings represent some form of “Enochic Judaism,” it is clear that they at least form some sort of shared tradition that minimizes covenant and Moses as the mediator of it.⁵⁰ The book is commonly divided into five sections: the *Book of the Watchers* (1-36), the *Similitudes of Enoch* (37-71), the *Astronomical Book* (72-82), the

46. Ibid., 603. See also Adela Yarbro Collins, “The Political Perspective of the Revelation to John,” *JBL* 96, no. 2 (1977), 244.

47. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 300.

48. Zerbe, “Pacifism,” 68.

49. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 44. While some may predate the apocalyptic material in Dan, the apocalypses which borrow from the Battlefield Myth can be placed at the same time as the writing of Dan 7-12.

50. John J. Collins, “How Distinctive Was Enochic Judaism?” in *Megillot. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V-VI: A Festschrift for Devorah Dimmanti*, eds. Moses Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2007), 17-34; See also Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins, eds., *The Early Enochic Literature*. JSJSup 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Boccaccini proposes that Enochic Judaism formed a competing Halakah with Zadokite Judaism and that Jubilees is an attempt to merge the traditions of the two groups.

Book of Dreams (83-90), and the *Epistle of Enoch* (91-104).⁵¹ The apocalyptic thread within the compilation is evident throughout. In the *Book of the Watchers*, the seventy angels who were supposed to watch over Israel have sinned so greatly that the fate of Israel hangs in the balance as demonic forces invade.⁵² In a close parallel to Dan 12:3, the *Epistle of Enoch* describes the faithful dwelling with the angels and becoming like the stars, “You will shine like the lights of heaven and will be seen, and the gate of heaven will be opened to you ... you will have great joy like the angels of heaven ... for you will be associates of the host of heaven” (1 Enoch 104:2-6).⁵³ The idea that after death the righteous will dwell with the angels, the host of YHWH, seems to represent a shared “Enochic” tradition from which multiple writers pulled.⁵⁴ Collins notes that it is clear that this shared tradition saw the righteous joining the stars, the army of YHWH that fights in the heavens, but only as part of an afterlife.⁵⁵

Yet due to its composite nature, other very different apocalyptic eschatologies exist within 1 Enoch, such as the *Animal Apocalypse* found within the *Book of Dreams* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks* found in the *Epistle of Enoch*. These apocalypses, written approximately near the Maccabean revolt, appropriate the Battlefield Myth to form their own theology of resistance against the Seleucid Empire, but do so very differently than

51. All translations used of 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testament of Moses come from James H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010).

52. Gabriele Boccaccini, “Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship,” in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, eds. John J. Collins and James H. Charlesworth (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1991), 36.

53. Collins, *Daniel*, 393.

54. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, HSM 16 (Missoula, MT: Scholar’s Press, 1977), 137. See 1 Enoch 39:5.

55. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 149. For more on the heavenly host in 1 Enoch, see George Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 43-45.

Daniel. The Enochic tradition therefore enters into the conversation alongside Daniel to answer how Jews should respond to the immediate crisis.

3.4.1. *1 Enoch 85-90: The Animal Apocalypse*

The writer of Daniel 7-12 fundamentally reshaped the Battlefield Myth through apocalypticism to support a non-violent response to the Maccabean crisis. However, an apocalyptic transformation of the Battlefield Myth does not necessarily exclude militant resistance. The *Animal Apocalypse* (165-164 BCE) presents the Maccabean revolt in a very positive light as God's work to bring about the eschaton.⁵⁶ Joining the Maccabees' armed conflict on earth is an activity of the righteous that will bring about a messianic age in which the nations are subject to Israel.⁵⁷ 1 Enoch 90:9-19 describes the resolution of the conflict as a final battle between the faithful Jews and the armies of the pagans that closely parallels the battle against the five Amorite kings in Joshua 10.⁵⁸

The *Animal Apocalypse* describes in the form of a parable the conflict against the Seleucids, the rise of Judah Maccabee, and God's eventual end to the conflict through direct action.⁵⁹ The parable portrays the Jews as sheep, though only those with "sight" are part of the elect group (90:6-8), while the gentiles are ravens, other birds, and beasts (90:8, 11). The ravens crush the sheep and eat them while preventing any successful revolt from occurring by smashing any sheep that dare to grow horns (90:8-9). Then Judah Maccabee, depicted as a ram with a great horn, appears to lead his people and

56. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 75.

57. Patrick A. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1993), 365.

58. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 378. Portier-Young points out multiple similarities with Joshua 10, such as five types of animals paralleling the five Amorite kings, the enemy fleeing twice, YHWH's decisive intervention, and a unique request made by both Joshua and Judah Maccabee.

59. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 90.

opens their eyes to give them sight (90:9-10). The writer describes the oppression as ongoing, “All those eagles, vultures, ravens, and kites until now continue to rip the sheep, swooping down upon them and eating them” (90:11), while Judah and his band of rams fight against their enemy. The ravens gather to do battle against Judah and try to remove his horn but fail (90:12). This appears to be the present state of the world for the writer since God has not yet decisively intervened to destroy their enemies. The rest of the battle vision (90:13-19) describes a future battle.

The battle begins with Judah and his rams fighting the vultures, kites, and ravens (90:13). Judah cries out for God’s help, and a heavenly scribe descends to reveal “everything” to Judah (90:14); YHWH’s host enters the battle soon after as predicted. Next YHWH himself enters the battle and “all who saw him fled and fell into darkness” (90:15). The eagles, vultures, ravens, kites, and “sheep of the field,” probably representing Hellenistic Jews who had not had their eyes opened, unite for one last stand against Judah and his rams (90:16). YHWH descends and smites the earth until the gathered enemies fall and are swallowed up by the earth (90:18). Finally, a heavenly sword is given to the sheep, and they proceed against any gentiles who are left (90:19). This allows YHWH to set up a throne for Judah in “a pleasant land” before “the Lord of the sheep” himself (90:20).

The *Animal Apocalypse* pulls from Josh 10 and uses its synergistic understanding of holy war to present its own program of resistance against the Seleucid Empire. The human activity of Judah and his rebels is a necessary event to spark the arrival of the eschaton. Judah *must* cry out for YHWH to decisively intervene. Just as in Josh 10, after YHWH intervenes in the battle, the mortal warriors pursue their enemies with the sword.

Unlike Josh 10, the battle ends with the beginning of the messianic age. Also unlike Josh 10, there are apparently some Jews who are not part of the elect and actively fight against the elect in the final battle. Despite these differences it is clear that the *Animal Apocalypse* appropriated the Battlefield Myth in a traditional way and that apocalypticism, though transformative for the myth, does not necessitate the nonviolent shift found in Daniel.

3.4.2. *1 Enoch 93:1-10 & 91:11-17: The Apocalypse of Weeks*

A second apocalypse within the Enochic tradition, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, is found within the *Epistle of Enoch* and was written during the same time as the *Animal Apocalypse* and Dan 7-12. Like the apocalypses above, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* appropriates the Battlefield Myth, but uses it to envision a different type of resistance for the faithful. A redactor's choice or scribal error has caused the two pieces of the apocalypse to become separated within the Ethiopic version of 1 Enoch, which should have 93:1-10 immediately followed by 91:11-17.⁶⁰ The *Apocalypse of Weeks* divides history into ten weeks and, like Daniel, the time of the writer is the beginning of the seventh week which is a turning point in history. Writing about the current crisis of Seleucid oppression, the seventh week decries the violence of the time: "An apostate generation shall arise; its deeds shall be many, and all of them criminal" (93:9). Afterward, the "elect ones of righteousness" will arise, to whom will be given instruction over the entire flock of Israel which will be followed by the arrival of a messianic figure

60. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 133. The Aramaic fragments from Qumran confirm this.

(93:10; 91:11).⁶¹ In the eighth week, “A sword shall be given to all the righteous in order that judgment shall be executed in righteousness on the oppressors, and sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous” (91:12). When the righteous execute judgment with the heavenly sword they become incredibly prosperous, righteousness covers the earth, and there is a final judgment where the angels are judged. Finally, heaven passes away and is replaced by a new heaven.⁶²

The *Apocalypse of Weeks* is so heavily abridged that the Battlefield Myth is here hard to discern, but it is present below the surface. Portier-Young proposes that the distinct wording in 91:12 regarding the sword and the execution of judgment echoes warfare passages throughout the Hebrew Bible.⁶³ James VanderKam agrees, writing, “The sword of the eighth week (the events of which are otherwise purely eschatological) can be explained plausibly as a reference to the sort of eschatological war that is depicted in other Jewish sources.”⁶⁴ Combat is taking place and the faithful have a part in it. However, unlike the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Apocalypse of Weeks* does not promote violence in the current time. The writer lives in the seventh week when violence is denounced as an activity of the unrighteous while the righteous wait for divine wisdom to illuminate the entire flock of Israel. Soon, however, the eighth week will begin and with it will come a divine sword where the righteous will fight in the final eschatological

61. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 449, notes the stereotyped language and so does not see any reason for this to be associated with the Maccabees. “The present passage can be a prediction rather than a description.”

62. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 65, speculates that, given the evident redaction of the apocalypse, the ending may not be complete and could have originally included resurrection. One finds resurrection within the *Epistle of Enoch* in 92:3 giving this suggestion a little more weight.

63. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 337.

64. James VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 149.

battle to bring about the world to come where sin and wickedness are no more. The *Apocalypse of Weeks*, therefore, appears to use the Battlefield Myth to offer a third option between the armed resistance of the *Animal Apocalypse* and the non-violent resistance of Dan 7-12 by advocating resistance through righteousness in the present time and taking up the sword in the time of final judgment.⁶⁵

3.5. Maccabean Tradition and the Battlefield Myth

Dating from the late second century BCE (115-103 BCE), both 1 and 2 Macc appropriate the Battlefield Myth by echoing the conquest battles of Joshua and Judges.⁶⁶ However, the writers of these books use the myth differently, thus illuminating their expectations of resistance in the face of oppression.

3.5.1. 1 Maccabees 3

In 1 Macc, the myth is only slightly changed from its use in the Hebrew Bible. The community of the faithful are threatened in 1 Macc 3:10 and 3:15 when two pagan generals attack the Jewish rebels. Judah's small company marches out to meet their enemy in 3:11 and 3:23. Judah's speech in 3:18-22 before the battle of Beth-horon describes how God will crush their enemies before them, which is confirmed in the following narrative where fear overtakes their enemies in 3:25, just as it does in Ex 15:15-16, Josh 10:10, and other texts mentioned above. Furthermore, the narrative is juxtaposed with a poetic account of Judah arming himself for war that strongly echoes YHWH doing the same in Isa 59:16-18.

65. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 345, 388.

66. Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 195-96.

In general, the writer echoes the feeling of the ancient Scriptures by using anachronistic names such as “the land of the Philistines” (3:24). The writer more specifically imitates the early admonition of YHWH to Joshua in Josh 1:6, “Be Strong and courageous,” by putting the words in the mouth of Judah to his soldiers in 1 Macc 3:58, “Arm yourselves and be courageous.” The fight at Beth-horon earlier in the chapter mirrors the small company of Gideon against the larger pagan force in Judg 7:2.⁶⁷ It is through these appropriations of Scripture that 1 Macc presents a very traditional view of resistance where YHWH’s actions are intrinsically tied to a necessary human participation. Collins writes, “Strength comes from heaven, the victory is achieved by God, but the role of the human forces is vitally important.”⁶⁸

Perhaps as a response to Daniel and other apocalyptic writings that supported non-violent methods of resistance, such as reading and teaching Torah, 1 Macc includes a story explicitly engaging those who prefer a quietistic approach. Directly after the first act of aggression that sparked the war (2:23-28), many faithful Jews went out to the wilderness to escape persecution and obey Torah (2:29). However, the king’s forces find out, and when the Jews refuse to obey the king they are attacked and slaughtered (2:38). These pious Jews refused to obey the king’s commands or fight back because it was the Sabbath (2:34-37). When Mattathias and his band of rebels hear about the massacre, they are afraid that if all Jews act as those martyrs did, then they will be completely eradicated by Antiochus’s tyranny. Therefore they vow to put aside any injunction against fighting on the Sabbath (2:39-41). The story in 2:29-41 disparages passivity and elevates

67. Ibid., 196.

68. Ibid., 196. Collins goes on to discuss how the speech of Mattathias in 1 Macc 2:40 is reminiscent of the song of Deborah in Judg 5:23, where it is clear that YHWH could not work without human participation in the fight.

militancy by providing a narrative of realistic possibility. What would happen if we all took the stance of Daniel's *maskilim*? Violent destruction and victory for the pagans.

3.5.2. 2 Maccabees 10

We find a slightly different vision of resistance in 2 Macc. Once again there is a synergy between God and the earthly forces of faithful Jews led by Judah, but more emphasis is placed on the actions of God and his host.⁶⁹ In 2 Macc 10:24-38, the pagan Timothy marched with his army against Judah and his followers. The two armies met at dawn on the battlefield (10:28). The writer describes Judah's forces as not only pious but also having God on their side. The host of YHWH enter the fight when "five resplendent men on horses with golden bridles" appeared from heaven, protect Judah, and destroy the enemy with thunderbolts. Confused and blinded, the enemy flees before Judah's army. There are no captives taken, rather most of the army is slaughtered and those who fled are tracked down and killed. According to 10:31, over twenty thousand were slaughtered on the battlefield, though the text is ambiguous as to whether it was Judah's army or the host of YHWH that killed so many. Even though it is ambiguous, one may guess that the heavenly warriors slaughtered so many, given the similarities to Josh 10 where YHWH's stones from heaven kill more than Joshua's army. Finally, victory is attributed to God who gave them victory in 10:38.

Although this appropriation of the Battlefield Myth does not seem different from the account in 1 Macc, there is a subtle variance in the resistance envisioned by 2 Macc. The narratives of 1 Macc only allow for human participation on the battlefield, but 2

69. For instance, in 2 Macc 8:18 Judah gives a speech that describes how God could destroy all their enemies with a single gesture.

Macc finds value in participation through both militant resistance and martyrdom.⁷⁰ In 2 Macc 8:3, Judah implores God to come to the aid of his army and mentions in his prayer that God would hear the cry of the blood of the martyrs. This is no doubt a reference to chs. 6 and 7, which dwell at length on stories of Jews martyred for refusing to forsake Torah.⁷¹ Judah's prayer in 8:3 seems to assume that the blood of the martyrs mentioned earlier in the text would tip the scales in his favor, inciting YHWH to act. While the Battlefield Myth account in 2 Macc 10 does not even allude to the martyrs as contributing to the battle, it is an interesting twist on the myth. Though 1 Macc finds non-violent martyrdom to be problematic, 2 Macc sees great value in it. The writer(s) of 2 Macc therefore does not limit human participation in the conflict to the battlefield, but instead sees the blood of the martyrs as contributing to their final victory, even if peripherally.

3.6. Other Pseudepigraphal Appropriations of the Battlefield Myth

The Battlefield Myth became an integral part of the apocalyptic imagination of Second Temple Jewish writers and is evident throughout the major traditions of the time period, including within the Hebrew Bible (Daniel), Enochic tradition (1 Enoch), and Hasmonean writings (1-2 Macc). It is also prevalent in other traditions and is found throughout the Pseudepigrapha. One finds it present in the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Testament of Moses*, the other writings among the Dead Sea Scrolls, 2 Baruch, and 4

70. Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 198. Almost all of 2 Macc 6–7 is an account of the death of the martyrs.

71. While there are both martyrs that die in battle and those who are murdered without resistance, the writer of 2 Macc clearly has the latter in mind. Chapter 6 relates the story of two women tortured and killed for circumcising their children and the story of Eleazar the scribe who refused to eat pork or even pretend to eat it. Chapter 7 contains the account of the martyrdom of seven brothers. After great torture, one brother with his dying breath says to the king, “You accursed wretch, you dismiss us from this present life, but the King of the universe will raise us up to an everlasting renewal of life, because we have died for his laws” (2 Macc 7:9). For a full discussion of the contributions these martyrs make to the conflict, see Jan Willem van Henten, *Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 173.

Ezra. Traces or echoes of the myth are found in even more Second Temple Jewish writings. Its use within the Dead Sea Scrolls is discussed below and its use specifically in the *War Scroll* (1QM) will be the subject of the next two chapters.

3.6.1. *Testament of Moses* (8-10)

Originally written during the time of the Maccabean revolt, the Testament of Moses (T Mos) seems to have been redacted into its final form some time after the death of Herod in 4 BCE but before the death of his sons ca. 30 CE.⁷² The Testament of Moses describes the last words of Moses to Joshua and is a retelling of history as an expansion of Deut 31-34.⁷³ The text describes a time of great trouble that parallels the oppression of Antiochus IV (8:1-5) followed by the story of a Levite named Taxo and his seven sons whose martyrdom (9:1-7) will bring about God's swift action through cosmic upheaval (10:1-10).⁷⁴ The Testament of Moses appropriates the Battlefield Myth in order to develop its own distinct theology of resistance, but scholars debate if it rejects armed resistance out of hand in favor of pure pacifism or if it seeks a theology of subversive non-violent resistance.⁷⁵ While it is difficult to make the case for pure pacifism, it is reasonable to assume that it promotes subversive non-violent resistance via upholding the

72. J. Priest, "Testament of Moses: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* Vol. 1, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1983), 920-21.

73. D. J. Harrington, "Interpreting Israel's History: The Testament of Moses as a Rewriting of Deut. 31-34," in *Studies on the Testament of Moses*, Septuagint and Cognate Series 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 59-70.

74. Zerbe, "Pacifism," 78.

75. See Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 103; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 213; D. M. Rhoads, "The Assumption [*sic*] of Moses and Jewish History: 4 BC–AD 49," in *Studies on the Testament of Moses*, Septuagint and Cognate Series 4 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1974), 56; Adela Yarbro Collins, "Political Perspective," 244-45.

law, purification, and martyrdom.⁷⁶ Zerbe argues that with its lack of mention of the Maccabean revolt, and its penchant toward non-violent martyrdom, it could be a direct counter to the Hasmonean military campaigns.⁷⁷ In the final eschatological drama of T Mos there is no messiah, messianic warfare, or any militaristic action by the people of God.⁷⁸ Rather, it is the intentional martyrdom of Taxo and his sons that triggers the violent action of YHWH's angel and finally YHWH himself.⁷⁹

In T Mos 8:1-5, the community of the faithful is threatened by the violent oppression of an evil ruler, typified by 8:1-2, where faithful Jews ("those who confess their circumcision") and Hellenistic Jews ("those who deny it") will be tortured and crucified, while others are punished "by the sword" (8:4). The faith is threatened when children are forced to undergo reverse circumcision procedures (8:3), idols are placed in the temple (8:4), and they are forced to enter the Holy of Holies and blaspheme there (8:5). Following the description of these woes is usually where a human army marches onto the battlefield to oppose the oppression of empire. Instead, there is the story of Taxo and the martyrdom of his sons. Unlike 1 Macc 2 and Jub 30-32, a Levite is not associated with Phinehas's zealous aggression and is instead used to develop a theology of martyrdom. He says at the end of his speech, "For if we do this, and do die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord," which is an obvious allusion to Deut 32:43, "For he will avenge the blood of his children and take vengeance on his adversaries." The next

76. While it is true that one can be martyred while fighting back, that case cannot be made with Taxo who prepares his sons for martyrdom by first fasting and then going to a cave and waiting to be slaughtered. Starting off his non-violent resistance by fasting is reminiscent of Daniel's actions in Dan 10:2-3. Daniel fasts for three weeks while Taxo fasts for three days (T Mos 9:4-7).

77. Zerbe, "Pacifism," 78.

78. Ibid., 79.

79. Jacob Licht, "Taxo, or the Apocalyptic Doctrine of Vengeance," *JSJ* 12 (1961): 98.

part of the verse in Deut 32:43, “he will repay those who hate him, and cleanse the land for his people,” is exactly what happens next in T Mos. Within T Mos, this intentional martyrdom is the human contribution to the eschatological war that will ignite YHWH’s wrath and will bring about the kingdom.⁸⁰

In typical Battlefield Myth fashion, after the narrative follows a poetic hymn. However, this hymn is not a retelling of the story, but rather its continuation. YHWH’s host enters the battle against the pagan armies mentioned in 8:4 when YHWH appoints an angel to avenge his people against their enemies in 10:2. Next YHWH rises from his throne and enters the battle “on behalf of his sons” (10:3). YHWH achieves vengeance through primordial actions: the earth trembles (10:4) and the sea completely vanishes (10:6). Then the faithful will be raised up to the heavens and join the stars. Unlike in Daniel and some Enochic traditions, the faithful do not join the stars in order to enter the fight alongside YHWH’s host. Instead, the faithful in T Mos will look down on their enemies who are already being punished. YHWH is given all credit for this victory where in 10:10 the faithful, at the sight of their enemies, rejoice, give thanks, and confess their creator.

3.6.2. *Jubilees 23:9-32*

Based on internal textual evidence, VanderKam estimates Jubilees was written sometime after the Maccabean revolt, dating to around 160-100 BCE with a preference

80. What arouses God’s anger in T Mos is the death of an innocent righteous person (a martyr). It is thus possible that it is implying the only human contribution to the heavenly combat is non-violent martyrdom. Zerbe, “Pacifism,” 80, disagrees with this position, although Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 200, argues that the role of Taxo and his sons in the final eschatological combat is “non-violent submission to martyrdom.” Collins puts this in direct contrast with 2 Macc which uses the same themes but focuses on violent martyrdom.

for 160-150 BCE.⁸¹ The book retells Scripture by summarizing and inserting creative additions and other traditions to Genesis and half of Exodus.⁸² The writer appears to be aware of the Enochic tradition and comments on it in 4:16-25.⁸³ Perhaps responding to Enochic tradition, the apocalypse after Abraham's death found in 23:9-32 enters into the conversation taking place within Second Temple literature about resistance and the place of the faithful in that conflict. Especially relevant is that the date of Jubilees places it after the Maccabees have won and are beginning to take on the trappings of Hellenism, such as a Greek dynastic name.

Collins argues that the writer of Jub 30-32 is a priest connected with the Hasmoneans because of its favorable portrayal of priestly zeal, a central narrative of the Maccabees. This might imply that the text looks favorably upon their further military campaigns.⁸⁴ However, it seems that Jub 23 is functioning exactly opposite of that goal since it is highly critical of the current leadership and the Hasmonean high priest. In Jub 23:14-25, the writer is concerned about a "wicked generation" with a wicked priest who will "defile the holy of holies with the impure corruptions of their contaminations."

81. James VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 17-21. The dating of Jubilees is contested, but this study follows VanderKam's assessment of the evidence and proposed dating.

82. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 164.

83. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 21; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 80.

84. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 94-95. Jub 30-32 retells the story of Gen 34 where Dinah is raped and Levi and Simeon take their revenge on Shechem. The writer of Jubilees explicitly says this act was reckoned to them as righteous and links it with Levi being chosen for the priesthood (Jub 30:17-18) in a similar fashion to Phinehas in Num 25. Collins argues from Jub 30-32 that the writer seems to admire priestly zeal just like the writer of 1 Macc. This could be interpreted as some indirect support of the Maccabean narrative. The campaigns of John Hyrcanus, ca. 113 BCE, against Shechem and Samaria could offer a tempting *Sitz im Leben* of Jub 30-32, but the evidence for this is not convincing. See James Kugel, "The Story of Dinah in the Testament of Levi," *HTR* 85 (1992): 1-34.

(23:21)⁸⁵ VanderKam convincingly handles this incongruence by arguing that the writer of Jubilees was connected with the Essene movement, but wrote before the sectarian scrolls were composed.⁸⁶ This would validate Collins's speculation that the writer was a priest, but also fit the evidence that the writer was heavily critical of the priestly establishment. Therefore an estranged priest connected with the pre-Qumran Essene movement seems most likely. The same questions that Daniel, 1 Enoch, and 1-2 Macc attempted to answer are now resurfacing in a disturbing manner: the enemy is no longer the pagan Seleucids but fellow Jews.

It appears that in ch. 23 the community of the faithful is threatened, but not by any army, either from within or without, physical or heavenly. Instead, the community is threatened by the "wicked generation" (23:21), and YHWH is moving to act against them (23:22). Like Daniel, the apocalyptic shift in the Battlefield Myth moves the combat completely away from the faithful and into the heavens; all agency is moved toward YHWH.⁸⁷ However, Todd Hanneken writes that unlike Daniel, "Those who study the law (23:26) are not merely guaranteeing their own resurrection (Dan 11) or allying themselves with a cosmic super-power (1 En. 90:12-16) but actually initiating the restoration themselves."⁸⁸ In the narrative YHWH alone acts decisively to heal his faithful and expel their enemies (23:30). But is the study of Torah the sole contribution of the faithful?

85. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 134.

86. Ibid., 143.

87. This is not to say that Dan moves all combat to the heavens, but rather that there is no earthly combat for the faithful to participate in and therefore all relevant combat is moved to the heavens.

88. Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 85.

Zerbe argues that Jub 23:20 supports the use of the sword by faithful Jews against apostates in a similar manner to 1 Macc 2:44 and 1 En. 91:11-12.⁸⁹ However, Hanneken persuasively argues against it by noting the stance of Jubilees is to not become a soldier. “Common sense and 1 Macc 2 establish that a soldier who refuses to fight on the Sabbath will die, and Jub 50:13 establishes that a soldier who does fight on the Sabbath will die. The ruling amounts to a prohibition against being a militant.”⁹⁰ So then what is to be made of Jub 23:20? Hanneken argues that the verse frames violence and bloodshed as “neither righteous nor efficacious.”⁹¹ The writer of Jubilees therefore does not support any of the various groups fighting in the ongoing wars and instead views the shedding of blood as an inherently wicked act, one that only serves to provoke God’s wrath. Instead, “The only human agents of salvation are those who repent and study the laws. This virtue does not lead them to military victory.... The closest thing to retribution is that God expels the enemies, but without violence.”⁹² The final victory is attained solely by YHWH and without violence of any kind on YHWH’s part.

Jubilees 23 develops a theology of resistance in a manner similar to Dan 7-12 and yet is distinct from it. The writer of Jubilees goes further than that of Daniel in multiple ways. First, the faithful are called to study the law, which directly brings about YHWH’s decisive intervention; it is the study of Torah that causes YHWH to act. Second, and more important, there is no combat happening at all, whether on earth or through divine

89. Zerbe, “Pacifism,” 71. Zerbe also mentions its similarity to 3 Macc 7:10-15.

90. Hanneken, *Jubilees*, 115. This might be taken to mean only a prohibition of fighting on the Sabbath. However, it appears the writer of Jubilees is making a “damned if you do, damned if you don’t” argument, and that a soldier will die in battle either way.

91. *Ibid.*, 116.

92. *Ibid.*

armies in the heavens. This is problematic for any claim regarding the use of the Battlefield Myth. How can this text display the myth without combat? According to Hanneken, the writer of Jubilees uses the apocalyptic motif of eschatological warfare, such as seen above in Enochic tradition, in order to “critique violence as a means for humans to bring about blessing.”⁹³ This critique intentionally flips almost every characteristic of the Battlefield Myth in Jub 23. The writer specifically subverts the classic form of the myth in order to criticize competing resistance theologies that favor any sort of violent action, whether human or divine, and to propose a theology without any sort of violence. This is the most radical evolution of the myth in Second Temple literature.

3.6.3. Summary and Analysis

Jubilees and T Mos represent different trajectories of the Battlefield Myth than some of the more dominant traditions of late Second Temple literature. Like Dan, both seek to use the apocalyptic evolution of the Battlefield Myth to move combat away from the earth and engender a non-violent theology of resistance. These two works push such a theology beyond Dan, but go about that task in completely different ways. While Dan foresees martyrdom as an inevitable possibility of teaching the law regardless of the edicts of Antiochus IV, T Mos escalates the role of martyrdom by making it the elects’ primary contribution to the final eschatological war. Jubilees moves beyond both works and removes violence from the equation entirely.

93. Ibid., 117.

3.7. The Battlefield Myth within the Sectarian Documents at Qumran

It is now necessary to examine how the Essene community appropriated the Battlefield Myth.⁹⁴ Those responsible for the writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) clearly represent a distinct community with their own sectarian documents different from those of the Hasmoneans or the Pharisees.⁹⁵ However, separating the DSS from the discussion of the Pseudepigrapha would be an unnecessary bifurcation that might suggest the writers of the scrolls were not participants within the larger conversations happening within Judaism at the time.⁹⁶ The library at Qumran contained a wide range of literature: ancient Israelite writings, apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings (e.g., 1 Enoch, Jubilees), and sectarian books not attested anywhere else. Although the criteria for “sectarian” is tenuous,⁹⁷ Collins advances eight scrolls or categories of scrolls to be so: the Damascus Document (CD), the Community Rule (1QS), the Messianic Rule (1QSa), the Scroll of Blessing (1QSB), the *Hodayot*, the *pesharîm*, the *War Scroll* (1QM and multiple fragmentary copies from cave 4), and the Halakhic Letter (4QMMT).⁹⁸ It is

94. I will follow the majority of scholars who see a connection between the Essenes in Josephus, Philo, and Pliny and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 6-7 writes, “The view that the Dead Sea Scrolls were the library of an Essene settlement at Khirbet Qumran, by the Dead Sea south of Jericho, took hold within a few years of the first discoveries in 1947 and has remained the dominant hypothesis.” See also Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1961); James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010). This would be contra the view of Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995). However, this does not mean that there are no issues with the Essene hypothesis. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 114-22 gives a thorough summary of the problems with the Essene hypothesis. See also Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 9-12.

95. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 13-16.

96. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 6. For a discussion of why the Qumran corpus seems to suggest greater engagement with Judaism than had first been assumed, see pgs. 13-14.

97. Carol Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters 1* (1990), 177.

98. Collins, *Scepter and the Star*, 15.

from these scrolls that we can gather an approximation of Essene theology and, more specifically for this study, the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in their texts.

Recall that the defining characteristics of the Battlefield Myth are: covenant people are threatened, human enemy armies are present, human Israelite/Jewish armies are present, YHWH enters the battle, YHWH's host enters the battle, the results have effects on earth, YHWH is the primary cause for victory, and a victory song follows. As shown above, not every text matches these characteristics, but rather the characteristics serve as a *Gestalt* framework that is used by various authors to fit their circumstances and theology. See below for a full chart of these characteristics and their presence in each of the texts discussed in this chapter.

As we have seen in the discussion above, many writers using the Battlefield Myth began to use the motif of eschatological warfare starting in the Maccabean period. However, the use of the eschatological warfare motif in the Battlefield Myth was not a necessary part of its development and the two are not synonymous, though they share some characteristics.⁹⁹ Discussion of eschatological warfare in the DSS usually centers on the *War Scroll* because it is entirely devoted to a final battle happening in the quickly-

99. For a discussion of the characteristics of eschatological warfare compared to the *War Scroll*, see Erho, "Motif of Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM)," 359-74. Erho uses as epitomes of the motif the eschatological warfare in Ezekiel 38-39, Sib. Or. 3:657-731, 1 En. 56:5-8, Rev 20:7-10, and 4 Ezra 13:5-11. The motif of eschatological warfare serves as a component for multiple genres, the Battlefield Myth being one of them. In other genres, such as the texts examined by Erho, the motif places no importance upon action (of any kind) by the faithful. Therefore the identification of the motif of eschatological warfare in the *War Scroll* poses a serious problem because the elect clearly fight in the final battle. So Erho, "Motif of Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM)," 369-70, writes, "Thus, the question must be raised as to whether 1QM can be considered an exemplar of the same motif, given this major discrepancy. The answer is a muted affirmative, insofar as 1QM can be deemed a minor variant on account of this dissimilarity since its conformity to the overall pattern has been relatively consistent." I would propose that this seeming inconsistency can be resolved if the *War Scroll* is using the Battlefield Myth with elements from the motif of eschatological warfare, such as Dan and 1 En. I consider this more fully below in chapter 5.

coming eschaton.¹⁰⁰ However, the motif can be found in multiple genres throughout the sectarian scrolls.¹⁰¹

One example of the motif of eschatological warfare appearing in the scrolls without the Battlefield Myth is in the Thanksgiving Hymns or *Hodayot* (1QH) 11:34-36. In this hymn there is a time of great trouble instigated by Belial until YHWH miraculously intervenes. Then divine warriors engage in battle and the earth is completely destroyed. This particular psalm does not utilize the Battlefield Myth because the community of the faithful are not threatened by a physical or spiritual enemy army and the faithful make no contribution to the outcome of the battle.¹⁰² Another example can be found in CD 7:15-20, which concerns a messianic prophecy based on Num 24:17. According to the document, the star is an interpreter of the law and the scepter is “the Prince of the whole congregation, and when he comes he shall smite all the children of Sheth.”¹⁰³ The writer continues with a diatribe against other Jews who have not separated themselves properly from sin and are enamored by wealth and lust. Therefore, this prince will crush any apostate Jews who do not keep to the covenant of the Essene community. We also do not find here the Battlefield Myth. It is clear in the text that this prince has not yet come and the smiting will occur in some eschatological time. However, this conflict

100. For instance, see Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 93-109. After a brief paragraph mentioning a few other examples, Collins spends the rest of the chapter on eschatological warfare discussing the *War Scroll*. See also Erho, “The Motif of Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM),” 359-74. Erho, 371, writes, “The contents of 1QM offer a broad, but loose, compatibility with the general course and scope of events evidenced in other instances of the eschatological battle motif.”

101. For a full discussion of this topic, see John J. Collins, “The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Eschatology, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 74-90.

102. Murphy, *Apocalypticism in the Bible and Its World*, 224. Indeed, there is no mention of the faithful contributing to the eschatological battle in any way.

103. Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2011), 135.

is not described as a battle or war. Instead, it is framed as a coming of a messianic judge who will mete out justice and vindicate the community vis-à-vis other religious Jews.¹⁰⁴ There is no mention of the community of the faithful being threatened by physical or spiritual armies.

The DSS are replete with brief mentions or hints of eschatological warfare like those mentioned above.¹⁰⁵ One feels the influence of the motif throughout the DSS, perhaps due to the sectarian nature of those writing and/or preserving the scrolls. However, as discussed in the following chapter, the only exemplar of the motif of eschatological warfare to also use the Battlefield Myth is the *War Scroll*. Why is this the case? If, as I have argued, the Battlefield Myth was pervasive throughout the socio-religious milieu of Second Temple Judaism, why would there be only one sectarian example of the myth in the largest cache of documents from that time?

David Flusser addresses this question as a window into the theological development of the Qumran community.¹⁰⁶ He argues that the *War Scroll* was the first sectarian document to be written and that it reflects an early stage in the development of the Qumran community where they hoped for military success against the Syrian Greek

104. Even if the smiting of all the children of Sheth is accomplished as a battle, it is not described here as such. Other than the one possible mention in the quoted verse (Num 24:17), there is no description or expectation of battle. So at the very least, CD *frames* it as a judicial vindication concerning Torah interpretation.

105. There are many more examples of eschatological warfare that do not use the Battlefield Myth. See also 1QS 10:19 which mentions briefly fighting with the “men of perdition” on a “day of revenge”; The *Florilegium* (4Q174) cites Psalm 2:1 “why do the nations rage?” and interprets it as a time of trial during the end of days when the kings of nations will attack Israel and a messianic figure will come who will be of the branch of David; Peshier Isaiah (4Q161) mentions the “war of the Kittim,” Magog, and a messianic branch of David.

106. David Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Its Worldview,” in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period Volume 1: Qumran and Apocalypticism*, trans. Azzan Yadin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 1-24.

oppressors.¹⁰⁷ However, this militaristic stance faded as historical events unfolded contrary to the community's expectations and necessitated a reevaluation of their eschatological theology that eventually transformed into "conditional pacifism."¹⁰⁸ Over time the community's theology continued to evolve, and eventually total pacifism replaced the intermediate conditional pacifism.¹⁰⁹ This shift from militarist to pacifist affected all subsequent writings by the community, such as the Community Rule, the pesharim, the hymn attached to the Damascus Document, and the Hodayot.¹¹⁰ However, the evolution of the Qumran's community theology is not necessarily a complete explanation of why the Battlefield Myth is absent from the rest of the Qumran corpus. As discussed above, Second Temple writers with theologies along the entire resistance spectrum adapted the Battlefield Myth. It would be reasonable to assume that the Qumran community also adapted the myth in multiple ways as their own theology changed over time. This is not the case, and Flusser argues that the lack of anything resembling the *War Scroll* in the rest of the corpus is due to the increasingly sectarian nature of the Qumran

107. Flusser, "Worldview," 4-5, argues for a *terminus ante quem* of 83 BCE with the conquering of Syria by Tigranes of Armenia when the Syrian Greeks would have no longer been a serious threat. Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, eds. James H Charlesworth and Frank Moore Cross (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 84, discusses competing theories for the *War Scroll*'s provenance, but concludes, "the *War Scroll* was composed before the installation of ... a community at Qumran.... It probably was composed in Palestine among a group of priests inspired by the Maccabean wars."

108. Flusser, "Worldview," 14-15. Here "conditional pacifism" is a quietist approach to the current age, suffering through a world dominated by Belial until the time of the eschaton when the events of the *War Scroll* would take place. The next stage in their theological development can be seen in Peshar Habakkuk which Flusser argues was written during the early Roman period. He finds the community's disappointment at recent events palpable in 1QpHab 9.4-7: "the final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say, because the mysteries of God are wonderful." This, he argues, is their response to the anticipated day of judgment that never came.

109. We have already seen in the previous chapter that myths, such as the PCM, are capable of evolving over time as circumstances change for the community of faith.

110. Flusser, "Worldview," 24.

community where the focus became less and less about a “day of vengeance,” and more and more about proving they were the true Israel, the “Israel who walk in perfection” (1QS 9.6).¹¹¹ This may have prevented subsequent writings from appropriating the Battlefield Myth, but I will argue in the next chapter that this process is also responsible for the varied resistance theologies within the *War Scroll*.

It is therefore understandable why the Battlefield Myth is absent from the rest of the DSS, as Flusser writes, “As a result, the destruction of all the nations of the world – the main focus of the War Scroll – is almost wholly absent from the other scrolls. The contrast between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness is limited, in practical terms, to the sectarian hatred aimed at the rest of the Jewish people.”¹¹² The Qumran community therefore turned their attention away from a battle against their enemies and toward following correct interpretation of Torah vis-à-vis other Jewish sects during the present age. This is certainly a different kind of resistance, but not one that appropriates the Battlefield Myth.

3.8. Conclusion

During the Second Temple period the Battlefield Myth was used in a variety of ways in Jewish literature as writers sought to engage the almost constant threat of foreign domination. Even when it was not a foreign oppressor, but rather a Jewish one, the Battlefield Myth was still relevant enough to speak into the crisis and provide hope for a threatened community of faith—hope that God would eventually recreate reality without evil and that the faithful would play some part in heralding its arrival. In the ancient war

111. Ibid., 14-16.

112. Ibid., 16.

traditions of the Hebrew Bible, the myth is found as a fusion of two earlier myths: the combat of deities in a battle of chaos versus order and the direct intervention of a deity on the battlefield. Found side-by-side in Exodus, Joshua, and Judges, they became irrevocably intertwined in later texts. The characteristics of the myth and their appearance in the texts discussed above can be seen in the following chart:

	<i>Covenant People are Threatened</i>	<i>Human Enemy Armies</i>	<i>Human Israelite/Jewish Armies</i>	<i>YHWH Enters Battle</i>	<i>YHWH's Host Enters Battle</i>	<i>Results Have Effects on Earth</i>	<i>YHWH Is Primary Cause of Victory</i>	<i>Victory Song</i>
Exod 14-15	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Josh 10	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Judg 4-5	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Dan 10	x	x			x	x	x	
Animal Apoc	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
Apoc of W	x	x	x		x	x	x	
1 Macc 3	x	x	x	x		x	x	
2 Macc 10	x	x	x		x	x	x	
Jubilees	x			x		x	x	
T Mos	x			x	x	x	x	x

Fig 3.1. Key Markers of the Battlefield Myth in Israelite and Jewish Texts

The above highlights how an existing tradition continued to evolve and change through the Second Temple period. These changes took place as different faith communities appropriated the Battlefield Myth to promote their theology of resistance. These theologies of resistance can be seen below:

	Armed Resistance Now	Armed Resistance Soon	Armed Resistance in the Eschaton	Prayer/Torah Observance Now	Martyrdom Now	
Exod 14-15	x					
Josh 10	x					
Judg 4-5	x					
Dan 10				x	x	
Animal Apoc		x	x			
Apoc of Weeks			x	x		
1 Macc 3	x					
2 Macc 10	x				x	
Jubilees				x		
T Mos					x	

Fig 3.2. Resistance Theology through Use of the Battlefield Myth

With a firm grasp on the ways these texts used the Battlefield Myth to promote a specific theology of resistance, the following trajectories may be classified within Second Temple Jewish texts:

1. Traditional: A largely unmodified version of the myth from ancient Israelite texts. 1 and 2 Macc use the myth in its traditional way with small, but significant, changes. In 1 Macc it is the possible awareness of other competing theologies of resistance. In 2 Macc it is the addition of non-violent martyrdom as another valid means of participation and contribution to the conflict and the eventual victory of the righteous.
2. Traditio-apocalyptic: A traditional version of the myth influenced by apocalypticism. The *Animal Apocalypse* and the *Apocalypse of Weeks* display an

apocalyptic version of the Battlefield Myth where human synergy with YHWH would cause not just one victory, but a final victory.

3. Apocalyptic: A version of the myth where the apocalyptic worldview has changed multiple characteristics of the myth. The writers of Daniel, T Mos, and Jubilees pushed the myth forward in surprising ways. While they, too, anticipated a final intervention by YHWH, they pushed combat into the heavens and did not see a way for humans to contribute through violence. Instead, the human contribution is to read Torah, to suffer, and to die if necessary. These actions would urge YHWH to act and precipitate the final victory.

These three trajectories are visible throughout Second Temple Jewish literature, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although they are certainly not the same as the core Battlefield Myth texts discussed in chapter 2, with prototype theory in mind I suggest that these texts are still discernible as “that kind of text.”¹¹³ While a text like 2 Macc 10 or *The Animal Apocalypse* may be said to be more typical of the Battlefield Myth, texts such as Jubilees that are less typical are still extant at the fuzzy fringes. Each of these trajectories is arguable, and some texts sit almost between them. However, that does not preclude us from creating a helpful abstraction with which to understand the evolution of the myth. John Collins rejects the idea that one cannot create an abstraction based on shared features when there are problematic cases at the fringes, writing that “there is a difference, however, between saying that a genre admits borderline cases and denying that it is possible to define a genre at all.”¹¹⁴ I would argue that the same can be said

113. Newsom, “Spying Out the Land,” 444.

114. Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 11.

about recognizing the Battlefield Myth in these Second Temple texts and creating helpful distinctions between the various appropriations. Understanding the overall trajectories of this myth will help place the different theologies of resistance found within the different versions of the *War Scroll* (1QM).

CHAPTER IV
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF REDACTION VIA THE BATTLEFIELD MYTH IN THE
WAR SCROLL (1QM)

4.1. Introduction

We have now seen writers from the Second Temple Period use the Battlefield Myth to support a theology of resistance. As will be shown below, 1QM uses multiple differing, and often contradictory, appropriations of the Battlefield Myth. It is therefore possible to determine layers of redaction within 1QM by examining the different appropriations of the myth that most likely represent theologies of resistance from multiple writers. This will occur in two stages. This chapter will examine the external evidence for redaction by comparing 1QM to corresponding cave 4 fragments in order to highlight the differences in resistance theology from one recension to the next. The external evidence for 1QM is primarily in manuscripts discovered in cave 4 (4Q471, 4Q491-4Q497). Multiple scholars have examined the external evidence in an attempt to piece together the compositional history of 1QM, most notably and recently Jean Duhaime (2004) and Brian Schultz (2009). However, there is no consensus regarding the dating and direction of redaction for some of the cave 4 fragments and their corresponding sections in 1QM. By using the Battlefield Myth as the lens of redaction, I will provide new data to resolve these disputed cases. In the next chapter, I will examine the internal evidence, or detectable clues within a text itself, for redaction, using the Battlefield Myth as redactional lens.

The differing conceptions of resistance within the same document raise interesting questions regarding the compositional history of the *War Scroll*. It is certainly possible for communities to read composite documents as unified wholes. That the Qumran community might not have recognized any inherent contradicting theologies in the different versions extant among the Dead Sea Scrolls is also possible. However, the external evidence shows that at least some in the community were willing both to adopt a previously existing document and to adapt it to other visions of cosmic conflict. We are identifying strata of traditions based on these observable (external evidence) and detectable (internal evidence) variations, not determining how a particular audience made sense of the whole.

4.2. The Status of 1QM and Related Cave 4 Fragments

4.2.1. *The Textual (Dis)Unity of 1QM*

The *War Scroll* appears to have a long and complicated history of redaction.¹ The text, attested by a mostly whole scroll found in cave 1, a fragment from cave 1, and an assortment of fragments found in cave 4, displays a very low amount of textual unity.²

1. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 167. See also Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 106-7. The scroll probably predates the Dead Sea sect and definitely represents a composite document.

2. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 94-95. Many of the sectarian documents (e.g., *Damascus Document*, *Community Rule*, *War Scroll*, etc.) show heavy redaction. Until recently, this was thought to be because the site of Qumran was occupied sporadically throughout its history and thus the community's writing occurred in phases. However, Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 68, claims the archaeological evidence does not support this. If the writing did not occur in stages, then we are left with three options: (1) The theology of the community changed over time, (2) The documents are the product of one movement but not of one community, or (3) A combination of the two. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 164, provides an example of option one regarding changing theology in a discussion of how messianic expectations evolved from a single messiah, to a dual-messiah, and then back to a single messiah. See also 176 for an example of option two regarding the different approaches to marriage within the corpus of the scrolls. Some scrolls provide for marriage while others forbid it, showing that some groups within the movement approved of marriage while others did not. Therefore, I will assume option 3 for this thesis. This means that documents like the *War Scroll* probably have a complicated history of redaction.

Visions of the final war found in the cave 4 fragments are often drastically different from those found in 1QM. Even within 1QM, one may find very different conceptions of the final war in Cols 1, 2-9, 10-14, and 15-19.³ Some early scholars defended a single author and the unity of the text.⁴ However, today scholars universally accept that the *War Scroll* is a redactional composite and have sought different ways to explain it.⁵ Duhaime summarizes, writing, “This work has probably achieved its actual form through some kind of literary growth.”⁶ One may directly observe this growth through examination of the external evidence.

The first thorough study of redaction in the *War Scroll* by Philip Davies proposed layers purely through internal evidence.⁷ However, the discovery of the cave 4 texts related to 1QM provided a much more direct window into 1QM’s development that was not available to Davies. The first critical edition, by Martin Abegg, appeared in 1992.⁸ Since then, Jean Duhaime and Brian Schultz have continued to build upon his work to fit

3. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 146. This ordering of textual units (1, 2-9, 10-14, 15-19) is typical. See also Deborah Dimant, “The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of its Date and Provenance,” *RevQ* 88 (2006): 625. Dimant, who uses the same grouping of columns, calls 1QM, “a compilation of loosely connected units dealing with the various aspects of the final struggle between the forces of Light and the camp of Evil.”

4. Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils des Ténèbres: Texte restauré, traduit et commenté* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1958).

5. A representative sample includes J. P. M. van der Ploeg, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial; Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); P. R. Davies, *1QM: The War Scroll from Qumran*; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*; Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World*; See also the summary found in Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 64.

6. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 60.

7. Davies, *1QM: The War Scroll from Qumran*, 24. His proposal focused on the two different books mentioned in 1QM from which the priest is supposed to read. The theory proposes that these books correspond to different parts of 1QM and can be treated as separate documents that were edited together.

8. Martin G. Abegg, “The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4: A Critical Edition” (Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew Union College, 1992).

the cave 1 and cave 4 texts together in a cohesive way. Both focus their work on relating cave 4 fragments to the text of 1QM as previous, contemporaneous, or subsequent recensions of the 1QM. However, not everyone is convinced that the external evidence is valid. Rony Yshai has also examined the cave 4 materials and concluded that none of them were copies of 1QM. In Yshai's opinion, it is impossible to know if any of the texts relate to one another at all and therefore the similarities are due to a common pool of shared war literature used by the various authors and redactors of the cave 4 texts.⁹ Schultz calls her view into question, writing, "Finding a lack of positive evidence that none of the Cave 4 texts are indeed exact copies of M, she has concluded that they are not. However, she has failed to consider that at times it is equally as impossible to find positive evidence that they are not copies of M."¹⁰ This study follows Schultz's analysis that the cave 4 manuscripts can still be related to 1QM in significant ways.¹¹

4.2.2. *1QM and Related Cave 4 Fragments*

1QM may be roughly dated to the middle of the first century BCE.¹² Fragments from cave 4 span approximately 150 years from the first half of the first century BCE to

9. Rony Yshai, "ספרות המלחמה בקומראן: בתבי היד 4Q496-4Q491 (מהדורה ופירוש) והשוואתם למגילת" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Haifa, 2006) 323.

10. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 34.

11. Ibid., 34-37.

12. Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 138; Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 65, 98. While David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 4, argues for the first half of the first century BCE, it is unclear whether he meant the scroll 1QM as we now have it or if he meant its *Vorlage* from which our current 1QM was copied and redacted.

the first half of the first century CE.¹³ Consider the following table regarding how the various cave 4 fragments relate to 1QM.¹⁴

Table 4.1: Dating of 4Q Fragments Compared to 1QM		
	Similar Recension to 1QM	Different Recension to 1QM
Predating 1QM		4Q493, 4Q491 ¹⁵ , 4Q496 ¹⁶ , 4Q497, 4Q471
Contemporaneous	4Q492, 4Q495	
Postdating 1QM	4Q494	

From the above table, a striking trend emerges: the different recensions all predate 1QM, while the texts of the same recension are either contemporaneous with or postdate 1QM. From this set of data, two preliminary conclusions may be made. First, it seems that many war texts circulated in the years leading up to the composition of 1QM and that these texts were in flux. This conclusion, although based on limited data, is addressed below, and as these arguments will show, there is every reason to believe that the material record reflects the history of literary development. Indeed, it is a window into

13. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 41.

14. This chart prepared from Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 19 (Table 2) and Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 42-43. Cave 4 fragments in each cell are listed in approximate order of date. Only the fragments that are pertinent to this study are listed.

15. Abegg, *The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 12, 35. Abegg argues that 4Q491 predates 1QM, paleographically dating it to the late Hasmonean or possibly early Herodian period. This would make it roughly contemporaneous with 4Q493. Claus Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamah aus Höhle 4 von Qumrân," ZAW 69 (1957): 131-51, was convinced that 4Q491 predated 1QM, but placed it as a similar recension. All others place 4Q491 in the second half of the first century BCE, making it contemporaneous with or post-dating 1QM, and categorize it as a similar recension. For this view see: Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 12-44; Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 25, 41; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 20, 33. The approach of this study has found Abegg's position to be correct and will add substantiating evidence to his claim (see below).

16. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 37-38. Contra Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 41, who places it as a similar recension in the same era. This study will add additional evidence to Schultz's position.

the history of transmission of a complex set of war traditions that existed in early Jewish literature before any of the Qumran texts were written.¹⁷ Second, it appears that it crystalized somewhere in the second half of the first century with the writing of 1QM because newer fragments do not strongly deviate from it.¹⁸ Devorah Dimant comments that when comparing 1QM with overlapping/similar passages from 4Q documents, “1QM often emerges as the fuller and more elaborate version.”¹⁹ This would establish a direction of recension from 4Q texts to 1QM, though this theory has not received unanimous support.²⁰ If true, then it would seem to indicate the sort of literary development suggested by Duhaime. But to what can we attribute the evolution of these war texts and their seemingly final compilation in 1QM? Duhaime suggests, “The purposes and function of the Qumran War Texts may have changed with their different recensions, their various stages of redaction, and the contexts in which they were used.” This would fit with the evidence outlined in chapter 3 that the Qumran community’s theology shifted over time and that this shift is discernable within the corpus, but now we will examine that shift within 1QM itself.

17. Yishai, “The Model of the Eschatological War Descriptions in the Qumran Literature,” *Meghillot* 4 (2006), 123-24; Dimant, “Composite Character,” 627.

18. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 41.

19. Dimant, “Composite Character,” 628.

20. Ibid., 627, lists two considerations that caution against a firm conclusion regarding the direction of recension. The first is that some orthographic evidence from the manuscript suggests that 1QM is a copy and not the autograph. The second comes from a consideration of the same type of composite nature in two other sectarian scrolls, 1QS and 1QH^a. Dimant writes, “it is possible to establish that the full and elaborate version is the early one because we possess older manuscripts which attest to this fact.” By extrapolation, therefore, the same argument could be made for 1QM.

We will now take two approaches based on the extant evidence that will show this shift in theology.²¹ The first will compare the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in 4Q fragments to their corresponding places in 1QM, specifically focusing on the differences in resistance theology from recension to recension. After establishing that such a shift occurred with the extant material evidence, chapter 5 will examine internal evidence within 1QM to further propose redactional layers.

4.3. External Evidence: The Battlefield Myth in 4Q Fragments Compared to 1QM

4.3.1. Methodology

We will now examine the external evidence from cave 4 and compare it to 1QM in order to discern if the theology of warfare changed from previous recensions into 1QM. This will restrict primary focus to the 4Q fragments that were classified as previous recensions above: 4Q493, 4Q491, 4Q496, 4Q497, 4Q471. The cave 4 fragments contemporary with and later than 1QM preserve the same recension as 1QM. In the case of each previous recension, we will examine the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in the 4Q fragment and compare it to the corresponding place in 1QM. While two texts may share a strand of the Battlefield Myth, they may have discernable differences between human and divine participation. Therefore, even within the same strand of the myth we may find noticeable changes as the war texts evolved over time, helping to map out a general trajectory in the Qumran community's resistance theology. However, not all of these 4Q fragments contain the Battlefield Myth. Therefore, I will only compare sections

21. Unfortunately, 4Q497 is much too fragmentary to be any use in this study. 4Q471 preserves a different recension of 1QM 2.1-10, and while battle is mentioned, the Battlefield Myth is not present. Therefore these two texts will not be considered in the study below.

of 1QM that contain Battlefield Myth motifs with the corresponding texts in the 4Q fragments. I will then examine clear differences in wording between the two texts and extrapolate whether differing theologies of resistance caused or derived from the different recensions. Using the same categories from chapter 3 will probably not be sufficient because each of these texts fall under the resistance category “armed resistance in the eschaton.” Categories that are more granular are now necessary to differentiate between theologies of resistance from one recension to the next. I provide these in charts below that distinguish the level of human and divine participation in each text.

This methodology will now be applied to the following units found below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Relevant Parallels Between 1QM and 4Q Fragments	
1QM	4Q Fragment
1QM 1.1-1.end	4Q496 frgs. 3 & 2+1
1QM 9.2-9	4Q493 lines 4-6
1QM 15.2-7 & 16.8-15	4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2
1QM 16.3-17.end	4Q491A frgs. 11 col. 2 + 13 + 15

4.3.2. 1QM 1.1-1.end compared to 4Q496

4Q496 is written in a pre-Herodian script that Baillet dates around the middle of the first century BCE.²² 1QM 1.4-9 corresponds to 4Q496 frg. 3 and 1QM 1.11-end

22. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 58.

corresponds to 4Q496 frg. 2+1.²³ The 4Q496 fragments are written on the back of a papyrus manuscript and are poorly preserved.²⁴ In both cases these two fragments contain only seven extant lines of text without visible margins. However, the Battlefield Myth is present within the remaining text.

Table 4.3: Comparison of 4Q496 frgs. 3 & 2+1 with 1QM 1.1-16			
Line	4Q496 frg. 3²⁵	Line	1QM 1.1-1.16²⁶
		1	For the In[structor, the Rule of] the War. The first attack of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial: the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon,
		2	the [Amalekites], Philistia, and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them
1-2	[...]	3	with [...] against all their troops, when

23. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 56-58. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 22-23; Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 24-26. Note that 2+1 is a single fragment, originally classified as two, but joined together by later scholars.

24. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 22.

25. In this chapter, the following sources are used for texts: the original cave 4 texts were published by Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*. Translation by M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Texts Concerned with Religious Law*, eds. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov (Boston: Brill, 2004).

26. In this chapter, block translations of text to compare to cave 4 texts are provided by M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper, 1996). Parallel text for col. 1 only goes to 1.16 because that's where parallel text ends.

			the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Peoples to camp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place
3	<u>he shall go forth with] great [wrath] to do [battle] a[gainst the kings of the north,</u>	4	a[nd the king of] the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt. In his time <u>he shall go forth with great wrath to do battle against the kings of the north,</u> and in his anger he shall set out to destroy <u>and eliminate the strength of</u>
4a	<u>and eliminate the strength of</u>		
4b	<u>Is]rael. Then there shall be a time [of salvation</u>	5	<u>I]srael. Then the]re shall be a time of salvation for the People of God, and a time of dominion for all the men of His forces, and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial. There shall be g[reat] <u>panic [among]</u></u>
5	<u>The forc]es of Belial. There shall be [...] p[anic</u>		
6	<u>and the] supremacy of [the Kittim] shall cease, [</u>	6	the sons of Japheth, Assyria shall fall with no one to come to his aid, <u>and the supremacy of the Kittim shall cease</u> that wickedness be overcome without a remnant. There shall be no survivors of
7a	<u>of] all Sons of Darkness.</u>	7	<u>[all the Sons of] Darkness.</u>
7b	<u>Then the Sons of [Righteousness</u>	8	<u>Then [the Sons of Rig]hteousness shall shine to all ends of the world continuing to shine forth until end of the appointed seasons of darkness.</u> Then at the time appointed by God, His great excellence shall shine for all the times of
8	<u>al]l the appointed seasons of dark[ness.</u>		
9	<u>] glory [and] j[oy</u>	9	<u>e[ternity;] for peace and blessing, glory</u>

			<u>and joy</u> , and long life for all Sons of Light. On the day when the Kittim fall there shall be a battle and horrible carnage before the God of
		10	Israel, for it is a day appointed by Him from ancient times as a battle of annihilation for the Sons of Darkness. On that day the congregation of the gods and the congregation of men shall engage one another, resulting in great carnage.
Line	4Q496 frg. 2+1		
2	<u>and the shout] of gods</u>	11	The Sons of Light and the forces of Darkness shall fight together to show the strength of God with the roar of a great multitude <u>and the shout of gods</u> and men; a day of disaster. It is a time
3	<u>and in al]l their afflictions</u>	12	of distress fo[r al]l the people who are redeemed by God. <u>In all their afflictions</u> none exists that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption. On the day of <u>their battle</u> against the Kittim,
4	<u>] their [bat]tle</u>		
5	<u>and thr]ee [...] shall strengthen themselves</u>	13	they shall g[o forth for] carnage in battle. In <u>three</u> lots the Sons of Light shall stand firm so as to strike a blow at wickedness, and in three the army of Belial <u>shall strengthen themselves</u> so as to force the retreat of the forces
6	<u>will streng]then the hearts of the s[ons of</u>	14	[of Light. And when the] banners of the infantry cause their hearts to melt, then

			the strength of God <u>will strengthen the</u> <u>he[arts of the Sons of Light.]</u> In the seventh lot the great hand of God shall overcome
7] <u>his [d]ominion and for a[ll</u>	15	[Belial and al]l the angels of <u>his</u> <u>dominion, and all</u> the men of [his forces shall be destroyed forever]. The annihilation of the Sons of Darkness and service to God during the war years.
8] <u>truth for the annihilation of</u>	16	[...] the holy ones shall shine forth in support of [...] the <u>truth for the</u> <u>annihilation of</u> the Sons of Darkness. Then [...]

In frg. 3 lines 3-4, the kings of the north set out to do battle in order to “eliminate the strength of Israel.” Instead of just enemy human combatants and the human armies of the faithful, there are also enemy spiritual combatants, the “forces of Belial” on line 5, which will join the battle. Human armies, the Sons of Darkness and the Sons of Light, are mentioned in line 7. YHWH’s host enters the battle explicitly in frg. 2+1 line 2, although perhaps there is a mention of it in frg. 3 line 5 where it says, “There shall be panic.” The end of the battle is not well preserved, but frg. 2+1 lines 5-6 seem to indicate encouragement for the Sons of Light and line 8 seems to mention the annihilation of the enemy, though this is conjecture.²⁷ Unlike the examples in chapter 3, the myth in 4Q496 utilizes dualism in the form of supernatural enemy forces to equally match YHWH’s

27. 4Q496 frgs. 3 and 2+1 follow 1QM col. 1 quite faithfully and so while it is conjecture, it is a reasonable assumption since this is what we find in the parallel section of 1QM.

host.²⁸ This text's appropriation of the Battlefield Myth centers on physical armies and their battles, has a few minor mentions of divine participation, and is not clear that this battle will take place in the eschaton for a final victory. This appears to fit the Traditional strand of the myth. However, the extant text of 4Q496 follows 1QM 1 quite faithfully and we can cautiously assume that it too would be set in the eschaton were it better preserved. Furthermore, the dualistic elements within the myth add a hitherto unseen dimension to it. These two elements push it toward the traditio-apocalyptic strand, but it does not fit well there either. This problem will be addressed below.

The focus of 1QM col. 1 is almost exclusively on the actions of the Sons of Light as the primary means by which the Sons of Darkness are defeated. It is the Sons of Light who will fight to reveal the might of YHWH (1.11). YHWH does not enter into the fight until the very end, after the Sons of Light have fought a series of six battles, alternating winning and losing (1.13-15). In 1.14 it says that the "great hand of YHWH" will subdue the enemy in the seventh battle, but it is not clear what this phrase means. It could be YHWH himself, an angel, or simply the empowerment of the Sons of Light to overcome their foe(s).²⁹ Given the context of the column, one might conclude that it is the latter. However, it is clear from the text that the alternating win-loss cycle cannot be broken by human effort; the dualistic scales are equal until the direct intervention of YHWH. The Hebrew in 1QM translated as "great hand of God" recalls Exod 14:31 when "Israel saw the great hand that YHWH brought against the Egyptians." David Flusser argues that 1QM 1.14 makes a deliberate allusion to Exod 14:31 and the destruction of Pharaoh's

28. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War," 604, argues that the myth has been heavily influenced by Persian dualism of light and darkness.

29. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 99.

forces without human warfare, suggesting that the seventh battle will be undertaken solely by YHWH.³⁰ If Flusser is correct, then this synergistic idea of the battle where humans fight and God ultimately delivers places this text's appropriation of the Battlefield Myth firmly in the traditio-apocalyptic strand. It is, however, pushing toward the apocalyptic strand since the seventh battle requires no human participation at all.³¹

	<i>Covenant People are Threatened</i>	<i>Human Enemy Armies</i>	<i>Human Israelite/Jewish Armies</i>	<i>YHWH Enters Battle</i>	<i>YHWH's Host Enters Battle</i>	<i>Results Have Effects on Earth</i>	<i>YHWH Is Primary Cause of Victory</i>	<i>Victory Song</i>	<i>Set in the Eschaton</i>	<i>Dualism</i>
1QM 1.1-1.end	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
4Q496 frgs. 3 & 2+1	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	?

Fig 4.1. Key Markers of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM and 4Q496

	<i>No Divine Contribution</i>	<i>More Human than Divine</i>	<i>Equal Contribution</i>	<i>More Divine than Human</i>	<i>No Human Contribution</i>
1QM 1.1-1.end				x	
4Q496 frgs. 3 & 2+1			x		

Fig 4.2. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM and 4Q496

From the charts and discussion above, it is clear that the extant text of 4Q496 frgs. 3 & 2+1 agrees with 1QM 1 very closely. Duhaime aligns 4Q496 as a text of similar

30. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 152.

31. The concept of a dualistic strand of the myth will be introduced below. It warrants mentioning here that 1QM 1 may seem the perfect candidate for this strand. However, per Flusser's interpretation, the quotation of Scripture implies that only YHWH will fight the seventh battle, rather than YHWH merely tipping the scales in the favor of the sons of light. However, the dualistic influence on this text is clear.

recension to 1QM col. 1.³² Schultz places it as a different recension, writing, “Reconstructing 4Q496 on the basis of M reveals that there must have been several changes to the text, even where it seems to follow M quite faithfully.”³³ Schultz’s position is to be preferred. While the extant text of frgs. 3 and 2+1 is very close to the text of col. 1, the text of the rest of the 4Q496 fragments are wildly divergent when compared to their 1QM parallels.³⁴ For instance, 4Q496 frg. 10 twice mentions a war leader, “the prince,” giving this figure a more prominent place than in 1QM where he is not mentioned at all.³⁵ The “Prince of the Congregation,” a human leader, plays an important role in other war texts unrelated to 1QM, such as 4Q285 and 11Q14.³⁶ It appears that the author/redactor of 1QM, copying from 4Q496 or a text like it, chose to lower human participation by leaving out any mention of the Prince of the Congregation. If 4Q496 represents an earlier piece of the Second Temple war traditions, then some of it may not have fit with the socio-political expectations of the writer/redactor of 1QM when the scroll was copied.³⁷ Therefore, 4Q496 can be cautiously classified as a different recension. The slight differences in the Battlefield Myth between the entirety of both

32. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 42.

33. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 26. “Where it follows M quite faithfully” is frgs 3 and 2+1 which relate to col. 1.

34. Ibid. There are many fragments in 4Q496 that are completely unattested in 1QM and therefore have no parallel.

35. In 4Q496 frg. 10, the prince has his own war banners and he is at the front, presumably leading the charge.

36. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 23.

37. As noted in chapter 3, Flusser argues that the unfolding of history contrary to expectations of the community changed their theology. The transfer of some, but not all, material from 4Q496 may be an example of this taking place.

texts supports this conclusion that the flow of resistance theology was moving away from human action and toward divine action.

4.3.3. 1QM 9.2-9 compared to 4Q493

1QM 9.2-9 is witnessed by 4Q493 lines 1-8 and 1QM 9.5-9 by 4Q496 frg. 15.³⁸

The text of 4Q496 frg. 15 is very badly damaged and very few words are extant. It is therefore not as useful for this study. 4Q493 has the majority of 14 lines preserved and can therefore be used to compare to 1QM.³⁹ Its script is pre-Herodian and is therefore dated to the first part of the first century BCE, making it the oldest manuscript related to 1QM.⁴⁰

Table 4.4: Comparison of 4Q493 with 1QM 9.2-9			
Line	4Q493	Line	1QM 9.2-9
1	For the war: The priests, the sons of Aaron, shall take their stand before [the] battle formations	2	of the slain to direct the fighting, until the enemy is defeated and turns in retreat. The priests shall blow the alarm to direct the battle,
2	and <u>sound a blast on the trumpets</u> of remembrance. Afterwards they shall open the g[ate]s for <u>the</u>	3	and when they have been defeated before them, the priests <u>shall blow the trumpets</u> of assembly, and all <u>the infantry</u> shall go out to them from the midst of
3a	<u>infantrymen.</u>		

38. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 49-53; Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 115; Abegg, “War Scroll,” 73-76, suggests that it should not be part of the war texts, but instead a “priestly handbook” like 4Q276. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 23, finds these arguments unconvincing due to the divergent nature of the content of the two cave 4 fragments.

39. Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 30. The top, bottom, and left margins are preserved. Only the right margin is unpreserved, but this still gives us an almost complete column of text consisting of 50-55 letters or spaces per line.

40. Ibid.

3b	Then the priests shall sound a blast on the trumpets of battle [to adva]nce on the battle line ⁴¹	4	the front battle lines and stand, six divisions in addition to the division which is engaged in battle: altogether, seven battle lines, twenty-eight thousand
		5	soldiers, and six thousand horsemen. All these shall pursue in order to destroy the enemy in God's battle; a total annihilation
		6	The priests shall blow for them the trumpets of pursuit, and they shall divide themselves for a pursuit of annihilation against all the enemy. The cavalry
4	of the Gentiles. The priests shall go out from among the slain and stand on either side of the [...]		
		7a	shall push the enemy back at the flanks of the battle until they are destroyed. When the slain have fallen,
5	beside the catapult and ballista. <u>Thus they shall not profane the anointing of their priestly office [with the blood of the s]lai[n].</u>	7b	<u>the priests shall continue blowing from afar and shall not enter</u>
6a	<u>[And] they shall not approach any battle formation of the infantry.</u> ⁴²	8	<u>into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled by their unclean blood, for they are holy. They shall not allow the oil of</u>

41. 4Q493 3b is also very similar to 1QM 9.2.

42. Here, in the corresponding parallel from 1QM, and the surrounding sections, the theme is that the priests are not entering or approaching the slain so as to not become defiled. It is loosely correlated with the parallel.

			<u>their priestly anointment to be profaned with the blood</u>
		9	<u>of the vainglorious nations.</u>
6b	They shall sound an alarm-with a sharp note in order that the me[n of]		
7	battle might set out to advance between the lines – on the trumpets [of the slain.] Then [they] shall [beg]in		
8	to draw near to the battle. When their periods of engagement are completed, they shall sound a blast for them on the tru[mp]ets of withdr[aw]al		

The text of 4Q493 describes the actions of the priests (1-9a) and Levites (9b-12a) during battle, the different trumpets they will blow to direct the battle (3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13), and warnings to stay away from the bloodshed lest they defile their oil of anointing with blood (5-6). The entire column of 4Q493 contains no references to YHWH, YHWH's host, or supernatural beings. The focus of the text is on the human participation of the elect who are directed by the priests and thus provides the implication of YHWH's blessing and implicit action. The section of 4Q493 that most closely corresponds to 1QM mentions "the catapult and the ballista" by which the priests are to stand. These sorts of siege weapons are not found anywhere in the text of 1QM, highlighting the physical battle and the role of the faithful in 4Q493. Schultz writes that 4Q493 "preserves the simplest and shortest descriptions of a number of topics of 1QM" and conjectures that "it

may have been a primitive text which over time developed into the more elaborate texts such as 1QM and 4Q491.”⁴³ It appears then that the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in 4Q493 follows the traditional strand. This adds evidence to its identification as the earliest war text found at Qumran during a time when nationalistic hopes were more attainable through militaristic might.

There appears to be wide agreement among scholars that 1QM 9.2-9 is part of a larger unit within 1QM from 7.9-9.end.⁴⁴ This section of 1QM focuses primarily upon tactics: the direction of the battle by the priests and Levites. In 1QM 9.2-9 the Battlefield Myth is obviously at work. In 9.2 the human armies are already in battle and enemy forces are in retreat. The soldiers of the faithful will then pursue the enemy “in order to destroy them in YHWH’s battle” for “a total annihilation.” This seems reminiscent of Josh 10 where the Israelites pursued the enemy while YHWH rained down hailstones upon them. Within the greater context of the section, 8.9-10 describes the battle beginning: “The Levites and all the people with rams’ horns shall blow a great battle alarm together in order to melt the heart of the enemy.” This is reminiscent of Judg 7:19-23 when Gideon’s warriors blew their trumpets and melted the hearts of their enemies while they shouted, “A sword for YHWH and a sword for Gideon!” Finally, in 9.7-9, the victory is achieved after all the enemy “arrogant nations” have been destroyed. The idea that all the enemy nations would be destroyed seems to place this battle in the eschaton. Therefore, the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM 9.2-9 seems to follow the traditio-apocalyptic strand with a heavy focus on human participation and several small,

43. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 36.

44. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 83, compares his own sense divisions of the text with those of Yadin, Martin, Carmignac, Ploeg, and Duhaime. There is a wide agreement that 7.9-9.end represents a separate section of material based on the stark contrast in subject on either side of it.

but significant, references and allusions to YHWH acting in the battle on behalf of the faithful.

	<i>Covenant People are Threatened</i>	<i>Human Enemy Armies</i>	<i>Human Israelite/Jewish Armies</i>	<i>YHWH Enters Battle</i>	<i>YHWH's Host Enters Battle</i>	<i>Results Have Effects on Earth</i>	<i>YHWH is Primary Cause of Victory</i>	<i>Victory Song</i>	<i>Set in the Eschaton</i>	<i>Dualism</i>
1QM 9.2-9	x	x	x	?		x	x		x	
4Q493	x	x	x			x	x		?	

Fig 4.3. Key Markers of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM and 4Q493

	<i>No Divine Contribution</i>	<i>More Human than Divine</i>	<i>Equal Contribution</i>	<i>More Divine than Human</i>	<i>No Human Contribution</i>
1QM 9.2-9		x			
4Q493	x				

Fig 4.4. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM and 4Q493

If the author/redactor of 1QM used 4Q493 or a text like it as a source for 1QM 9.2-9, then it appears they expanded the role of YHWH in the battle. Directly after 9.9 is a section unrelated to the previous, but still discussing tactics, specifically an ambush (9.10-9.end). This section does not appear in the subsequent part of 4Q493, and it appears the author/redactor of 1QM either added it from a different source or created it – either way it does not follow 4Q493. The end of the column (9.14-18) is badly damaged, but what is preserved appears to insinuate the participation of four angelic beings: Michael,

Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael.⁴⁵ 9.17 mentions an ambush, but is too poorly preserved to discern its meaning, though it could have referred to the actions of the angelic beings mentioned above. This expansion is small, but significant nonetheless because it does not reference nameless angels, rather the expansion consists of naming four archangels who held a very important role in Second Temple angelology and at Qumran specifically.⁴⁶ Therefore the insertion of new material into the text after the related 4Q493 material seems to indicate the same slight, but significant, elevation of divine participation in the battle that is not evident in 4Q493 or a 4Q493-like *Vorlage*.

4.3.4. 1QM 15.2-7 & 16.8-15 compared to 4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2

1QM 15.2-7 and 16.8-15 are additionally witnessed by 4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2. While 4Q491 shares some small similarities with 1QM 15.2-7, it more closely follows 1QM 16.8-15, so it is of more interest for this study.⁴⁷ The extant fragment begins mid-battle, so the community of the faithful are already threatened and at arms. Lines 9-10 describe a part of the battle where the faithful are having great success and the Kittim are falling. In line 11, YHWH enters the battle as the Kittim begin to “fall by [the mysteries] of God.”⁴⁸ There is also implication of YHWH’s host fighting (l.15), which reads, “among gods and men.” The priest strengthens their hearts with a speech in lines 14-17.

45. The names of these angels are written on shields of towers. The reason for writing these names upon the shields of towers would presumably be to call upon their protection or aid.

46. Archie T. Wright, “Angels,” *EDEJ* 329-331; M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

47. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 20-25. As mentioned above, many place it as a similar recension, and some date its composition to be after 1QM. However, Abegg was the first to challenge Baillet’s categorization of the fragments based on paleographic and orthographic differences between three distinct groups. Abegg’s additional work revealed the possibility that it is a different recension, composed before 1QM.

48. A partial lacuna here has been reconstructed by Abegg. See Abegg, *War Scroll*, 241. Note that in such a direct translation, I have translated it as “God” instead of YHWH because it is the Hebrew ֵלֹהִים.

The speech seems to focus on the battle and YHWH's role in it, though it is badly damaged. While victory is not explicitly described, it is perhaps alluded to on line 17: "and [the fire] shall consume as far as Sheol." The fragment is too small to determine if there was originally a song after the battle. The appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in this text seems to support equal participation by both mortal and divine armies, but it is seemingly situated in the eschaton. It therefore appears to fall into the traditio-apocalyptic strand.

In 1QM 16.8-15, the battle is already underway. Both the human armies of the faithful and the Kittim are present in lines 8-10. In line 11, Belial himself prepares to engage in the battle and the faithful begin to fall by the "mysteries of God." This odd situation – that the faithful are now falling by God's divine mysteries – raises some interesting questions that will be addressed below. The army of the faithful reform their battle formations in lines 12-13, and the priest gives a speech to strengthen their hearts in lines 14-15 (and possibly beyond into the next column). The speech by the priest seems to focus on YHWH's imminent saving action that will deliver them from the crucible of war. The battle described here involves both human and supernatural forces fighting in the eschaton and seemingly fits the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth.

Table 4.5: Comparison of 4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2 with 1QM 16.8-15			
Line	4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2	Line	1QM 16.8-15
8	in the Kittim [m]		
9	<u>the infantry shall begin [to bring down the slain of the Kittim and]</u>	8	rams' horns shall blow [a battle signal], a loud noise. As the sound goes forth, <u>the infantry shall begin to bring down the slain of the Kittim</u> , and all

		9a	the people shall cease the signal, [but the priest]s shall continue blowing on the trumpets of the slain and
10	<u>the battle [shall prevail]</u> <u>against the Kittim</u> []	9b	<u>the battle shall prevail against the Kittim.</u>
		10	[]
11a	the corpses of the place of refining [shall <u>begin</u>] to fall by[<u>the mysteries</u>] of God.	11	When [Belial] prepares himself to assist the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the infantry <u>begin to fall by the mysteries of God</u> and to test by these mysteries all those appointed for battle,
11b	And <u>the p[riests shall blow the trumpets of assembly</u>]	12a	<u>the priests shall blow the trumpets of assembly</u>
12	battle against the Kittim. And to the first battle formatio[n]	12b	so that another battle line might go forth as a battle reserve, and they shall take up position between the battle lines.
		13a	For those employed in the battle they shall blow a signal of return.
13	And the <u>priest designated for the battle shall draw near and stand [be]fore[the battle formation]</u>	13b	Then the chief <u>priest shall draw near and stand before the battle formation, and shall strengthen</u>
14a	<u>And he shall strengthen their hands by recounting His wondrous deeds.</u>	14	<u>their heart by [the wondrous might of God and]</u> fortify their hands for battle.
14b	<u>Then he shall sa[y] in response:</u> [fire of]	15a	<u>Then he shall say in response:</u>
15	vengeance, to consume	15b	[“Blessed is God, for] He tests the he[ar]t

	among gods and men. For [He shall] not []		of His people in the crucible. And not [...] have your slain [...]. For you have obeyed from old
16	flesh, except dust (?). For now []	16	the mysteries of God. [Now as for you, take courage and stand in the gap, do not fear when God strengthens...]
17	and [the fire] shall consume as far as Sheol. And the council of wickedness []	17-20	[17-20 missing]

From underlined similarities between the two texts in the above table, it is evident that the author/redactor of 1QM relied on 4Q491A or some text like it. However, 1QM is significantly different. The account in 4Q491A appears to be one battle where the Kittim are losing and “the corpses of the place of refining,” presumably the Kittim’s corpses, are falling by God’s mysteries.⁴⁹ In 1QM, however, the author/redactor has placed this account of the battle as the second of seven battles. The same wording about falling by God’s mysteries has been changed both before and after. Now it is the faithful who are falling by God’s mysteries because Belial has come to fight for the Sons of Darkness and the faithful must test these mysteries and be tested by them. This is evident in the different speeches by the priest. While the entire speech by the priest is not extant in

49. One might be cautious and assume that since 4Q491A frg. 10 col 2 is so poorly preserved, it could have contained similar elements to 1QM 16 that are no longer extant. This line of reasoning would therefore put very little stock in an analysis of differences between the two texts. However, there are differences in the extant text and 1QM, which can be easily seen in Table 4.5 above. Furthermore, another extant version of this battle, found in 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2, does not include frg. 10 col 2’s variants, but rather follows 1QM almost exactly. Since these two texts are found within the same document and are discernibly different, we can reasonably assume that they represent two different versions of the battle, rather than the same one. This also means that we can reasonably assume that 4Q491A frg. 10 col 2 is a different recension of 1QM 16.

4Q491, it contains words and phrases not found in 1QM, all of which seem to speak to God's power to bring victory. In 1QM, it is not a priest designated for battle, but the chief priest himself – God's ultimate human representative on earth – and his speech centers on the disorientation of losing to the Sons of Darkness. These examples have provided some striking evidence that, whereas the faithful are winning in 4Q491A, the author/redactor of 1QM has edited the account to fit the seven-battle model and thus the faithful must be losing.

	<i>Covenant People are Threatened</i>	<i>Human Enemy Armies</i>	<i>Human Israelite/Jewish Armies</i>	<i>YHWH Enters Battle</i>	<i>YHWH's Host Enters Battle</i>	<i>Results Have Effects on Earth</i>	<i>YHWH Is Primary Cause of Victory</i>	<i>Victory Song</i>	<i>Set in the Esclaton</i>	<i>Dualism</i>
1QM 16.8-15	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	

Fig 4.5. Key Markers of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM and 4Q491A

	<i>No Divine Contribution</i>	<i>More Human than Divine</i>	<i>Equal Contribution</i>	<i>More Divine than Human</i>	<i>No Human Contribution</i>
1QM 16.8-15				x	
4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2			x		

Fig 4.6. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM and 4Q491A

The redaction that probably occurred between 4Q491A or a text like it and 1QM provides a window into the ongoing evolution of the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth. As discussed above, both texts reveal the myth's appropriation, but the redaction from one text to another shows how it evolved within the theological milieu of the

Qumran community. The most noticeable difference is the adjustment from one battle to the second battle of seven. The dualistic theology that necessitated this shift from one final battle to alternating victories for both sides leading up to a decisive final battle implies a much stronger role for the Sons of Darkness and Belial's host.⁵⁰ This is seen in 1QM 16.11 as Belial himself enters the battle.⁵¹ Finally, the context of the priest's speech in 1QM, and the need to explain the disorienting loss in battle by those supposedly blessed by YHWH, also implies a much larger role for YHWH in 1QM's version of the conflict. Instead of showing his power through victory in one battle, YHWH will show his power by making it obvious that the forces of light and darkness are equally matched until YHWH's direct and final intervention. This theological move diminishes human effort and highlights that in the end it is YHWH's power alone that will bring victory.

These changes reflect an interesting on-going progression and transformation in the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth. As we have noted above in chapter 3, the community's hopes seem to have soured after their eschatological expectations were not met. Perhaps it appeared as if the forces of darkness were greater than first anticipated? How could they explain this? Pesher Habakkuk, written during the early Roman period, explains it thus: "The final age will be extended and go beyond all that the prophets say, because God's mysteries are wonderful."⁵² It seems that for the writer of 1QpHab, "God's mysteries" were a way of dealing with the disappointments of unmet

50. The dualism present in 1QM 16, which is not present in 4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2, is a later development. See Davies, *IQM*, 79, "The original tradition of the battle-narrative involved only one encounter, and the idea of reverses is secondary."

51. While the corresponding section of 4Q491A is badly damaged and could have originally contained a similar reference to Belial, the context around it and in 1QM are so different that I would conjecture it did not.

52. 1QpHab 9.4-7.

expectations. The text of 4Q491A uses “God’s mysteries” in a favorable light: the faithful will meet the enemy on the battlefield, YHWH will join them, and their enemies will die through “God’s mysteries.” However, the text of 1QM seems to indicate this souring of expectations because it couches the phrase about “God’s mysteries” in an entirely different light: failure in battle is disorienting, but YHWH is still in control. Instead of an equal amount of participation by the faithful, 1QM’s vision of the battle elevates YHWH’s role in the battle so much that the actions of the faithful are much less relevant. While they must still be strong and continue to fight, they are fated to win and lose in alternating battles until YHWH intervenes, no matter how hard they fight. This appropriation of the Battlefield Myth seems to fall somewhere between the tradition-apocalyptic and the apocalyptic strands: there is still militant action to be taken by humans, but the battle will be entirely won by YHWH without human help. This conclusion about the progression of their theology also allows a tentative placement of 4Q491A frg. 10 col. 2 as not only a different recension, but a previous recension before the writing of 1QM.

4.3.5 1QM 16.3–17.end compared to 4Q491A frgs. 11 col. 2 + 13 + 14-15

1QM 16.3-17.end is additionally witnessed by 4Q491A frgs. 11 col. 2 + 13 + 14-15.⁵³ Fragment 11 col. 2 lines 1-14 follows 1QM 16.3-16.end very closely. Starting at line 14 it becomes obvious that this fragment is a different recension as the priest’s speech in lines 14-18 deviates wildly and is much shorter than that found in 1QM 17.1-9. However, the text returns to witnessing 1QM 17.10-14, though not as closely, in 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2 lines 19-23. Fragments 13 and 14-15 are not attested in 1QM, but would fit

53. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, 20-25; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 26.

quite well in the missing end to 1QM 17.⁵⁴ My analysis of the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in these fragments will therefore focus on where these texts diverge, though it should be noted that in 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2, the community of the faithful were already threatened and in battle by line 14.

Table 4.6: Comparison of 4Q491A frgs. 11 col. 2 + 13 + 14-15 with 1QM 17.1-10			
Line	4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2 lines 14-19	Line	1QM 17.1-10
14	[He is] faithful, and the relief which His redemption [...]	1	and He shall appoint their retribution with burning [...] those tested by the crucible. He shall sharpen the implements of war, and they shall not become blunt until [all the nations of] wickedness [come to an end].
		2	But, as for you, remember the judgment [of Nadab and Abi]hu, the sons of Aaron, by whose judgment God showed Himself holy before [all the people. But Eleazar]
		3	and Ithamar He preserved for Himself for an eternal covenant [of priesthood].
15	[son]s of truth <u>and to remove the faint of heart and to strengthen the he[art]</u>	4	But, as for you, <u>take courage and do not fear them</u> [... for] their end is emptiness and their desire is for the void. Their support is without st[rength] and they do not [know that

54. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 27.

			from the God] of
16	[<u>the batt]le today, the God of</u> <u>Isr[ael] shall subdue him [for</u> <u>alll [...]</u>	5	Israel is all that is and that will be. He [...] in all which exists for eternity. <u>Today is His appointed time to subdue</u> <u>and to humiliate the prince of the</u> <u>realm</u>
17	[...] with no place to stand. And [the kingdo]m shall be for God and the salvatio[n] for His people [...]	6	of wickedness. He will send eternal support to the company of His redeemed by the power of the majestic angel of the authority of Michael. By eternal light
18	[...] like as to Belial. <u>But God's</u> <u>covenant is peace [for] Israel in</u> all the times[of eternity <i>vac</i>]	7	He shall joyfully light up <u>the covenant</u> <u>of Israel – peace</u> and blessing for the lot of God – to exalt the authority of Michael among the gods and the dominion
		8	of Israel among all flesh. Righteousness shall rejoice on high, and all sons of His truth shall rejoice in eternal knowledge. But as for you, O sons of His covenant,
		9	take courage in God's crucible, until He shall wave His hand and complete His fiery trials; His mysteries concerning your existence.”
19	<u>And after these words the</u> <u>priests shall blow</u> to order the second battle with the Kit[tim. And when each man has taken]	10	<u>And after these words the priests shall</u> <u>blow</u> for them a signal to form the divisions of the battle line. The columns shall be deployed at the sound of the trumpets,

Fragment 11 col. 2 lines 14-18 are the priest's exhortation encouraging the soldiers to fight even though they have lost the previous engagement. While they might die, the priest reminds them on line 16 of the glory they are achieving merely because it is the day when "the God of Isr[ael] shall subdue him [for a]ll." In line 19, the priests blow the trumpets to begin the second engagement, whereas the corresponding section in 1QM does not name the engagement but the nearly identical text there serves as the beginning of the third engagement. Fragment 13 perhaps contained a description of the third battle. and though it is badly damaged we glimpse some familiar motifs of the Battlefield Myth. The only remaining text of frg. 13 line 1 is "[wi]th the gods", and the only remaining text of line 2 is "the smallest of you shall pursue a tho[usand]." These motifs, fighting with supernatural forces and pursuing the enemy, are reminiscent of some of the earliest exemplars of the myth, such as Josh 10. The rest of frg. 13 contains a description of a battle so packed that there is no space between each man. Fragments 14-15, tentatively joined together by Baillet, are damaged and the text is sparse. However, it seems to describe further battles, possibly including the seventh and final battle. Line 6 reads, "[and do not tur]n back[For the] outstretched [hand] of God is upon all the gentiles." The appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in 4Q491A frgs. 11 col. 2 + 13 + 14-15 focuses on human militant activity, supernatural forces, and the eventual intervention of YHWH. It therefore appears to fit the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the genre.

Since 4Q491A follows closely 1QM 16.3-16.end and 17.10-14, the material in 17.1-9 is the most obvious difference between the two texts. As noted above, the speech by the priest is very different from 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2 lines 14-18, and no content between the two is shared here. In 1QM 17.2-3 the author/redactor recalls the story of

Nadab and Abihu as YHWH's direct action in taking the life of the unholy (presumably comparing that to the Sons of Darkness) and YHWH's preservation of Eleazar and Ithamar (presumably YHWH's preservation of the Sons of Light). The rest of the priest's exhortation in 17.5-9 contains explicit mentions of YHWH and angels destroying the enemy that are completely missing in 4Q491A. The appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM 16.8-16.end, as discussed above, fits somewhere between the traditio-apocalyptic and apocalyptic strands due to the influence of dualism. The addition of 17.1-9, with Michael being raised up as a direct counter to Belial ("the prince of the realm of wickedness"), only strengthens that claim.⁵⁵

	Covenant People are Threatened	Human Enemy Armies	Human Israelite/Jewish Armies	YHWH Enters Battle	YHWH's Host Enters Battle	Results Have Effects on Earth	YHWH Is Primary Cause of Victory	Victory Song	Set in the Eschaton	Dualism
1QM 17.1-10	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	

Fig 4.7. Key Markers of the Battlefield Myth in 1QM and 4Q491A

	No Divine Contribution	More Human than Divine	Equal Contribution	More Divine than Human	No Human Contribution
1QM 17.1-10				x	
4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2			x		

Fig 4.8. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM and 4Q491A

55. Jean Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 48.

There exists a clear relationship between the two texts, as they follow each other rather closely in two specific places, one more closely than the other. There are also at least four phrases found in 4Q491A that have been expanded in 1QM 17, establishing the direction of redaction.⁵⁶ The claim that 1QM 17.1-9 represents an expansion of the text has long been suspected, even before the cave 4 fragments were available.⁵⁷ In light of the 4Q texts, Duhaime concludes quite strongly that 1QM 17 is a dualistic rewriting of 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2.⁵⁸ This direction of redaction from 4Q491A to 1QM 17 follows the same trend discussed above where increased dualism in appropriations of the Battlefield Myth was perhaps the result of unmet eschatological expectations that slowly shifted more of the fight toward YHWH and away from human combatants.

4.4. Summary and Analysis

We may now draw several conclusions strengthened by the evidence provided above. First, the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth identified above in 1QM 16-17 does not easily fit into the strands of the genre identified in chapter 3. This is because the novelty of dualism puts it somewhere between the traditio-apocalyptic and apocalyptic strands. It therefore appears that we are now able to identify a fourth strand in the genre,

56. Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking," 49-51. Duhaime demonstrates how the textual expansion cannot go in the opposite direction. B. Nitzan, "The Development of the Sectarian Texts at Qumran," *BM* 40 (1995): 232-42, provides a different assessment. Although it is easy to conclude that the 1QM text is the later recension because it contains a significant amount of material not found in 4Q491A frg. 11 col. 2, Nitzan proposes that 4Q491A contains allusions to both the Nadab and Abihu story (1QM 17.2) and the eternal covenant made with the house of Aaron (17.3), and therefore 4Q491A could be a shorter personal version of the 1QM text.

57. J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 83-103; Davies, *1QM*, 80. Davies specifically notes that the chief priest's speech in 1QM 17 is a dualistic interpolation that was not original to the *Vorlage* of 1QM. He bases his work on textual grounds, comparing the Hebrew both before and after the section, as well as other stylistic clues.

58. Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking," 51.

with at least two exemplars in the *War Scroll*: the dualistic strand.⁵⁹ This strand may be defined as: an appropriation of the Battlefield Myth where human and supernatural armies clash in the eschaton, but are equal in strength until YHWH's decisive intervention, highlighting the futility of human ability to fight evil and YHWH's complete defeat of it.

The influence of dualism is clearly seen throughout the entire scroll and even influences the organization of 1QM.⁶⁰ Even though dualism is highly influential on the final form of the scroll, it is apparent that many of the most clearly recognizable dualistic elements, such as the introduction of two supernatural adversaries, the Prince of Light and Belial, represent some of the latest strata in the complicated redaction history of 1QM.⁶¹ Indeed, as shown above, many of the earlier cave 4 texts do not show any dualistic influence. There are also many sections in 1QM that appear to be influenced by dualism because they are set within the framework of six alternating battles with a final seventh battle. The redactor's choice to set a Battlefield Myth text within a larger narrative does not automatically render it a part of the dualistic strand of the myth. Rather, the injection of dualistic elements into the section itself, such as dueling supernatural adversaries and the seven battle schema, will make it part of the dualistic strand. Therefore, sections such as 1QM 16-17 that are not easily identifiable as part of one of the mythic strands highlighted in chapter 3 and contain explicit dualistic

59. This is not to say that it does not appear in other parts of Jewish literature around the same time and even before, but it is at least evident here.

60. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War," 604.

61. Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking," 43-51, cites two examples in 1QM: 13.9-12 and 16.11-17.9.

reworking, such as the introduction of Michael and Belial, can be definitively placed in the new dualistic strand.

Second, we may now propose an historical hypothesis for the development of the Qumran community's resistance theology based on the material evidence examined above. Both 4Q491 and 4Q496 have been placed by various scholars as either the same recension as 1QM, contemporaneous or post-dating 1QM, or both. The analysis provided above strengthens the proposals by those who see these texts as different recensions written before 1QM: the flow of resistance theology through the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth goes from 4Q texts to 1QM. They are therefore previous recensions. This confirms our tentative conclusion above that all of the different recensions were written before 1QM and that the fluctuations in the war texts seem to have stabilized with the writing of 1QM. With new evidence to strengthen the claim that 4Q texts represent previous recensions of 1QM, it is possible to establish a direction of resistance theology. In every case, the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth from a previous recension in a 4Q text to 1QM always shows the same development: a progression from human militancy toward more divine action as the resolution. Other examples, though not as significant, also show the same progression.⁶² This directly corresponds with our study of Battlefield Myth texts as resistance literature in chapter 3. Per Flusser's model, as the community's

62. (1) 1QM 14.4-14.end is additionally witnessed by 4Q491A frg. 8-10 col. 1. These two texts follow each other very closely and both can be used to fill in lacunae in the other; however, there are subtle differences that suggest expansion by the author/redactor of 1QM which fits my model of progression in the Battlefield Myth.

(2) 1QM 13.8-12 is additionally witnessed by a similar recension in 4Q495 frg. 2 and a different recension in 4Q491B frg. 7. In this text we find a dualistic expansion about Michael similar to 17.1-9. See Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking," 43-46.

expectations of militant resistance faded, their theology changed to match the times, which necessitated an adjustment in the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth.

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF REDACTION VIA THE BATTLEFIELD MYTH IN THE
WAR SCROLL (1QM)

5.1. Introduction

The external evidence is clear that the community's appropriation of the Battlefield Myth evolved over time, and this provides a window into their eschatological hopes as history unfolded. Furthermore, due to the composite nature of 1QM, this sort of redactional activity is detectable in the final form of the text itself. This chapter will present the internal evidence for redaction of the text by examining places where different strands of the Battlefield Myth, and therefore resistance theologies, are found juxtaposed in 1QM. In this case, we seek dissimilar resistance theology via appropriations of the Battlefield Myth in juxtaposed sections. The lack of external evidence for many parts of 1QM is due to the fragmentary nature of other *War Scroll* manuscripts. However, even when there is no external evidence of redaction, there is still internal evidence that could indicate the work of a redactor within the final form of the text itself.

5.2 The Battlefield Myth in 1QM 1-2

Column 1, which most scholars treat as a self-contained unit,¹ displays the elements of the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth. The covenant people

1. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 80. Even Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 74, who sees a close relationship between cols. 1 and 2 where most scholars have not, still puts col. 1 as a self-contained section of paragraphs.

are threatened in the first extant line of the scroll, which tells of the armies that must meet upon the battlefield: the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. The enemy army, the Sons of Darkness, consists of human troops from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and the Kittim of Assyria (1.1-2) and Belial's angels (1.15). Their leader, the king of the Kittim, sets out to destroy Israel (1.5). The army of the elect, the Sons of Light, are the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, who will battle against the army of Belial in a series of seven battles (1.9b-14b). The first three are won by the Sons of Light, followed by three victories by the "army of Belial." YHWH enters the fight during the seventh battle and overcomes "Belial and all the angels of his kingdom," destroying them forever (1.14b-15). YHWH's host also enter the battle and cause confusion and panic upon the enemy as we have seen in ancient Israelite Battlefield Myth traditions (1.5b-6a). During the seventh battle the writer describes how YHWH alone is victorious: "And with the seventh lot, the mighty hand of YHWH shall bring down [the army of Belial, and all] the angels of his kingdom, and all the members [of his company in everlasting destruction]," (1.14-15). The results of this combat have direct effects on Earth when all of the enemies of the whole world are totally destroyed "without a remnant" (1.6) and the Sons of Light reign over the "whole Earth" (1.8a) while YHWH gives them "peace, and blessing, glory, joy, and long life," (1.8b-9a). The end of col. 1 is badly damaged and mostly missing, but Duhaime conjectures that one possibility regarding the missing text is that it could have described the victory celebration.²

The theme of central importance in col. 1 (and 1QM as a whole) is the participation of the elect in this eschatological battle. Many have noted that the *War*

2. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 99.

Scroll clearly follows the evolution of the holy war traditions of ancient Israel and eschatological warfare of the later apocalyptic tradition.³ However, as Ted Erho notes, the *War Scroll* exhibits “incongruent elements with other exemplars of the motif” of eschatological warfare, namely that the Sons of Light are expected to fight on the battlefield and contribute in significant ways to the final victory.⁴ Simply put, 1QM is too inconsistent when compared to other exemplars of the genre of early Jewish eschatological warfare. However, this noted incongruity is solved if the motif is not merely eschatological warfare, but rather multiple strands of the Battlefield Myth redacted together from previous source material. Different or even opposing appropriations of the Battlefield Myth within 1QM would not be problematic, but rather would be expected in a document with such a complicated history of redaction and could help illuminate the work of multiple writers with differing theologies of resistance. We have already shown this sort of activity to have occurred within the Qumran war texts from previous recensions into 1QM. Yet Erho does not know what to do with this element of human participation and therefore calls 1QM a “minor variant” of the motif of eschatological warfare.⁵ With regard to 1QM col. 1, Erho’s conundrum can be solved by looking at the text as an exemplar of the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth which expects human participation in the battle. This strand has its roots in the ancient Israelite Battlefield Myth texts of Joshua and Judges; apocalypticism has shifted

3. Collins, “The Mythology of Holy War,” 596-612; Erho, “The Motif of the Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM),” 359-374.

4. Erho, “The Motif of Eschatological Battle in the War Scroll (1QM),” 369.

5. Ibid., 370.

the combat into the eschaton, and dualism has created a much more decisive and salvific role for YHWH than in previous recensions.

A very different appropriation of the Battlefield Myth is found in col. 2. The beginning of the column describes a reprieve in the violence where the temple service is restored in order to atone for the congregation before YHWH. The discussion of the war begins again in 2.6 when the faithful, called “the congregation” in col. 2 as opposed to “the sons of light” in col. 1, set out from Jerusalem to conquer the world. The war is described as having thirty-three years remaining, and men will be chosen from amongst all the tribes of Israel to go out each year to fight, except during the Sabbatical years. The war progresses around the globe in 2.9-2.14, from nation to nation, until the men of the congregation have conquered every ancient biblical nation. In the description of the global war, there is no mention of YHWH’s intervention or YHWH’s host. The only mention of the divine at all is in the description of the restoration of the priesthood and right temple services. Since the congregation sets out from Jerusalem, it seems to imply God’s sending of the warriors and his blessing over the war. Finally, there is no indication throughout the entire column that this thirty-three-year war takes place in the eschaton. This places the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in col. 2 in the traditional strand, but only barely, for it almost appears to be a regular war without the assistance of the divine warrior. Its redaction in 1QM after col. 1 places its current form firmly in the eschaton which shifts it into the traditio-apocalyptic strand, but again only just barely.

	No Divine Contribution	More Human than Divine	Equal Contribution	More Divine than Human	No Human Contribution
1QM 1				x	
1QM 2		x			

Fig 5.1. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM 1 and 1QM 2

Using the Battlefield Myth as a redactional lens makes it quite obvious that col. 1 and col. 2 represent two separate pieces of the many war traditions found within Second Temple Judaism. Indeed, almost all scholars agree that cols. 1 and 2 represent separate redactional units that were juxtaposed during the compositional history of 1QM.⁶ Shultz, however, is the lone dissenter in this matter, writing, “There is more unity and coherence between these two columns than is currently assumed.” Schultz argues that the redactor of 1QM intentionally juxtaposed the two sources to provide for his vision of the entire eschatological war that would unfold over two distinct stages: a local war called “the day of their war against the Kittim” and a global war called “the war of the divisions.”⁷ Schultz’s lengthy analysis of cols. 1 and 2, combined with insights from other parts of 1QM, specifically cols. 15-19, is convincing. It seems as though the final redactor of 1QM worked to bring some coherence to these two very different conceptions of the final war, though their very different origins are still evident.

These different origins are evident in the underlying appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in both texts. Schultz acknowledges that “the present reading of [1Q]M

6. For a full survey of the different proposals regarding the relationship (or lack thereof) between cols. 1 and 2, see Duhaime, *War Texts*, 45-53.

7. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 237.

does not negate the possibility that much of cols. 1 and 2 may have been drawn from separate sources or traditions.”⁸ By combining the approach of the present study with Schultz’s, it is therefore possible to see multiple stages of redaction. In an early stage, independent appropriations of the Battlefield Myth existed as part of separate war traditions. The redactor of 1QM then juxtaposed and somewhat harmonized the two accounts in order to describe a two-stage war that he wished to portray throughout the rest of the scroll. These changes allow the two columns to be read as referring to the same war. However, the redactor did not change the very different expectations of divine action and human participation in the two columns.⁹

5.3. The Battlefield Myth in 1QM 10-14

Columns 10-14 are placed together as a cohesive unit in most outlines of the composition of 1QM.¹⁰ However, even within this unit there are differing conceptions of the participation of the faithful depicted in col. 11 and col. 12. The first words of col. 11, “Truly the battle is yours!”¹¹ immediately remind the reader that the faithful are threatened, but divine help is near. The enemy army is described in 11.8-9 as “the hordes of Belial, the seven nations of vanity.” The faithful community, “the poor,” are participating too, as mentioned in 11.9-13, though what role they play seems ambiguous. YHWH enters the battle in 11.17-18, “when you bring judgment upon Gog and all his assembly gathered about him ... for you will do battle against them from heaven.” The

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., 292.

10. Duhaime, “War Scroll,” 80; Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 94. However, even within this “unit,” Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 41, calls it “a collection of prayers and hymns” implying that some redactional work went into its formation.

11. Here “yours” is singular, referring to the deity. The immediate context makes this clear.

focus on YHWH's salvific actions are central, and therefore YHWH's host are not mentioned in col. 11. The results of YHWH's intervention in the battle "level the hordes of Belial" (11.8), the "enemies from all lands" are delivered into the hands of the poor (11.13), YHWH's truth is announced among all peoples, and YHWH makes a great name for himself (11.14). Finally, only YHWH receives credit for the victory as the writer writes, "Truly the battle is yours and the power from you! It is not ours. Our strength and our power accomplish no mighty deeds, only by your power and by the might of your great valor" (11.4-5).

Which strand of the Battlefield Myth does col. 11 display? This can be determined by the role of "the poor" in the description of the battle, though that depends on the interpretation of the biblical citations and allusions found in the column. The column includes two direct citations of the Hebrew Bible from Num 24:17 and Isa 31:8 and allusions to 1 Sam 17 and Exod 14-15. The only explicit citation connected with the traditions of the Battlefield Myth is Num 24:17, which preserves an example in the Hebrew Bible of the Divine Warrior Myth (DWM). As evident in other scrolls, such as the Damascus Document, the Qumran community specifically interpreted Num 24:17 to predict the coming of two messiahs.¹² The Davidic messiah is usually prophesied to lead violent military action, as in CD 7:19 where "he will smite all the children of Sheth."¹³ However, the context of the quotation within 1QM leads Joseph Fitzmyer to write that the poor are to "remember that any success will not be due to them but to the promise of

12. From other places within the Qumran texts, it is apparent that the community interpreted this prophecy as referring to dual messiahs. For a discussion of these two messianic figures within the *Damascus Document* see: Matthew E. Gordley, "Seeing Stars at Qumran: The Interpretation of Balaam and His Oracle in the Damascus Document and Other Qumran Texts," *PEGLMBS* 25 (2005): 109.

13. John Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 71.

victory which [the group] finds in the oracle of Balaam. The promise of messianic figures, which is the normal understanding of the verse, is here completely set aside in the new context.”¹⁴ John Collins, however, after connecting Num 24:17 with its messianic interpretation throughout the scrolls, writes, “I see no basis for [Fitzmyer’s] statement. The power of God may be exercised through a messiah. While the messianic interpretation of Balaam’s oracle is not explicit in 1QM 11, there is nothing to exclude it.”¹⁵ Collins’s case could certainly be strengthened by quoting 1QM 11 directly after the citation of Num 24:17, which declares, “You will glorify yourself in our enemies by leveling the hordes of Belial, the seven nations of vanity, by the hand of the poor” (11.8-9). Collins’s interpretation would support the idea that the author/redactor of 1QM 11 has appropriated the tradito-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth where a messianic figure leads the faithful in a fight against their enemies.

However, contrary to Collins’s position, the rest of the column and its intentional biblical citations and allusions suggest something very different. The column opens with a description of David’s victory over Goliath (11.1-4) that, at first, seems to support an interpretation of violent resistance. However, the text specifically calls attention away from David’s violence and towards his piety: “You delivered Goliath of Gath, the mighty warrior, into the hands of David your servant, because in place of the sword and in place of the spear he put his trust in your great name; for yours is the battle” (11.1-2). Directly after the Num 24:17 citation is an explanation of how YHWH will destroy the hordes of Belial “by the hand of your poor.” How will this happen? The column continues with an

14. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 43.

15. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 75.

allusion to Exod 14-15: “You will do to them as you did to Pharaoh and the officers of his chariots in the Red Sea” (11.9-10). This is interesting given the lack of participation of the people of Israel at the Red Sea and YHWH's instructions to them in Ex 14:14: “The Lord will fight for you; you need only to be still.” The juxtaposition of Num 24:17 and the implied Exod 14:14 could signal the writer's interpretation of the former passage. Finally, the only other explicit citation in col. 11 is from Isa 31:8: “And Assyria shall fall by a sword not of man, and a sword, not of men, shall consume him” (11.11-12). If the original composer was influenced by the Battlefield Myth of Joshua and Judges like the writer of 1 Macc (or even Col. 1), this would be an odd choice to bring into contact with Num 24:17 because the divine combat is again happening without mortals.¹⁶ Isaiah 31:8 appears in one other place within the *War Scroll* in 1.6 as a merged citation with Dan 11:44: “Assyria shall fall and there will be no help for him; the rule of the Kittim will come to an end.” David Flusser argues that the text of the *War Scroll* carefully plays off of Dan 10-12, especially Dan 11:40ff, almost as a continuation and explanation of those prophecies that had not come true at the time of composition.¹⁷ He writes:

“[T]he eschatological vision of the War Scroll is predicated on an actualizing interpretation of Daniel's unfulfilled prophecy. The author rightly understood that the obscure verse from Daniel means that the evil king will die as a result of

16. An alternate translation of לֹא אָדָם in Isa 31:8 is “nobody,” implying that a nobody, i.e., the Qumran community, will bring down Assyria. This translation is especially enticing given the very next line in 11.13, “For into the hand of the poor you will deliver the enemies of all the lands,” and seems to interpret the citation of Isa 31:8 to imply that it is the poor who will use a heavenly sword to overthrow their enemies. However, two observations refute this interpretation. First, it is difficult to make this case grammatically because Isa 31:8 uses two different Hebrew phrases for “no man,” לֹא אָדָם and לֹא אִישׁ. Arguing that both of these phrases are idioms for “nobody” would be difficult. Second, the juxtaposition of the other citations and allusions all point to a non-violent means of deliverance, but this is especially the case with Ex 14. If 1QM 11.13 does indeed interpret the citation of Isa 31:8, then a non-violent interpretation is possible. God may still deliver into the hands of the poor all of their enemies without any sort of violence on the part of the poor. It is also worth noting that this alternate translation of לֹא אָדָם in Isa 31:8 as “nobody” is not favored by any major published volume.

17. Flusser, *Second Temple Judaism*, 144-45.

divine intervention, and it is this understanding that guides the War Scroll's interpretation of Isaiah 31:8.... It is likely that this verse generated the Jewish apocalyptic motif that has the wicked enemies of Israel falling before God's sword in the end of days. But while some interpreters held that Israel will be given the sword of God and use it in their battles, the War Scroll interpreted this motif in light of Daniel's vision. That is, the Kittim and their king will be killed by God's sword without human intervention. Then the mighty hand of God will be revealed, just as at the time of the Exodus from Egypt, so their ultimate redemption will be like the first."¹⁸

It is clear from the internal evidence of the *War Scroll* that col. 11 actually flows in the vein of the apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth. It appropriates that strand by consciously choosing to cite the Hebrew Bible and interprets the texts in a way that supports non-violent resistance for the elect. As opposed to other Battlefield Myth texts where a divine sword appears, such as the *Animal Apocalypse* or the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, col. 11 specifically chooses not to put that sword in the hands of mortals. Rather, that sword is used by YHWH alone.¹⁹ So what does it mean that YHWH will destroy the hordes of Belial "by the hand of your poor"? The text does not specify, so one might guess that, as with other apocalyptic strand Battlefield Myth texts discussed in chapter 3, the writer envisions Belial being destroyed in part by the faithful who engage in passive activities ranging from Torah study and prayer to mere witnessing the acts of YHWH.²⁰

Column 12, however, clearly displays the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth. The community of faith, called "the elect" in col. 12 instead of "the poor" as in col. 11, gather with YHWH's host for a battle against "all the rebels of the earth" (12.4-5). YHWH enters the battle in 12.8-9: "the King of Glory is with us together

18. Ibid., 156.

19. We see this again later in 1QM 18.

20. This is a common theme in the DSS and a number of texts emphasize studying Torah and prayer. James C. VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 145.

with the Holy Ones. Valiant [warriors] of the angelic host are among our numbered men, and the Hero of War is with our congregation; the host of his spirits is with our foot-soldiers and horsemen.” This is followed by a song that foretells YHWH’s decisive intervention, captives of war, spoils, and that after the battle the land will be filled with glory and blessing and Jerusalem will rejoice (12.10-18). It is clear that col. 12 displays the traditio-apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth where human armies and divine armies work in near-synergy.

	No Divine Contribution	More Human than Divine	Equal Contribution	More Divine than Human	No Human Contribution
1QM 11					x
1QM 12			x		

Fig 5.2. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM 11 and 1QM 12

The examples above, the juxtaposition of two very different theologies of resistance side-by-side within 1QM, suggest redactional activity in order to arrive at the present state of the scroll.

5.4. The Battlefield Myth in 1QM 18-19

The current text of 1QM 18-19 describes the final battle and the prayers to be said afterward. The battle begins with “the great hand of God ... lifted up against Belial and against all the forces of his kingdom.” Then the “holy ones” pursue the Kittim to their complete annihilation. Then the priests blow their trumpets to gather all the battalions of the faithful that are then divided against all the camps of the Kittim “to completely destroy them.” This is followed by a hymn that recounts YHWH’s mighty act of salvific

intervention. The prayer centers on how YHWH alone acted and provided victory. As part of the thanksgiving prayer, the priest says in 18.12, “In bat[tle you shall show yourself strong aga]inst our enemies for total slaughter.” Column 19 continues the theme of thanksgiving and begins a hymn in 19.2 that encourages YHWH to rise up, take captives, crush all of his foes, and let his sword devour all flesh (19.4). A new section begins in 19.9 that recounts how after the battle is over the faithful will gather at their former battle lines where “the mighty men of the Kittim [fell], as well as the multitude of Assyria, and the armies of all the nations that had gathered together, to see if [the mu]ltitude of slain [are dead] ... by the sword of God.”

The appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in cols. 18-19 is firmly in the apocalyptic strand. There is no mention of dualism in the text, though it is situated within 1QM as the seventh battle, and the participation of the elect is to merely observe “the hand of God” acting to destroy their enemies. Only one mention is made of the faithful taking an active role in the battle (18.4-5a), but this is only after the writer has twice described YHWH annihilating Belial and all his forces (18.1 and 18.3), so it is not clear what is left for them to do. Instead of relying on motifs from the traditional strand, such as those found in Joshua and Judges, the author/redactor seems to be drawing from Exodus and elsewhere. The mention of “the hand of God” in 18.1 and “the sword of God” in 18.12 follows earlier usage of the same imagery found in col. 1. As discussed above, this recalls the exodus narrative where YHWH destroys Pharaoh and his armies without assistance from the faithful.²¹ Furthermore, the scene described in 19.9-11 where the faithful rest and on the following day discover the armies of the Kittim slaughtered by

21. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 244; Flusser, “Apocalyptic Elements,” 154-55.

“the sword of God” strongly alludes to 2 Kgs 19:35 when YHWH slaughtered Sennacherib’s army overnight without human help.²²

In 1QM as we now have it, cols. 18-19 follow the third engagement found in col. 17 and represent the seventh and final engagement.²³ The end of col. 17 is badly damaged and is missing a majority of line 16 and all of lines 17-20, so it is impossible to tell what was originally written there to link col. 17 to 18. Based on the length of the first (26 lines), second (18 lines), and third (6+ lines) engagements, it is hardly imaginable that the next three engagements could be covered in any detail in the remaining four lines of col. 17.²⁴ This clue suggests that cols. 18-19, or a similar previous recension, may have originally been a separate document that the author/redactor of 1QM added to the materials that formed cols. 15-17. However, because the ending to col. 17 is damaged, additional evidence is needed to make such an assertion. That additional evidence is found in the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth. As discussed in chapter 4, col. 17 displays strong dualistic theology, but the contents of cols. 18-19 do not appropriate the myth in the same way; only the current structure of 1QM provides a dualistic meta-narrative. For instance, col. 17 mentions Michael as Belial’s equally powerful opponent, whereas this dualistic marker is missing in cols. 18-19.²⁵ Instead, the appropriation of the myth in cols. 18-19 is strongly within the apocalyptic strand. It is therefore quite possible that cols. 18-19 did not originally follow col. 17, but were redacted together.

22. Davies, *1QM*, 72.

23. Column 19 was not originally attached to 1QM when it was discovered. However, col. 18 does most certainly follow col. 17.

24. Zhu-En Wee, “Columns 15-19 of the *War Scroll* (1QM),” 282.

25. Indeed, none of the dualistic markers are present in the text of cols. 18-19. See Duhaime, “Dualistic Reworking,” for a discussion of these elements.

	No Divine Contribution	More Human than Divine	Equal Contribution	More Divine than Human	No Human Contribution
1QM 17				x	
1QM 18-19					x

Fig 5.3. Level of Human and Divine Participation in 1QM 17 and 1QM 18-19

As noted multiple times in this study, the shift from human participation toward complete divine intervention was generally a later development in Qumran literature. The same pattern surfaces in cols. 18-19. Columns 15-19 are generally grouped together as a unit, and although it now appears that it was originally two different units, 15-17 and 18-19, a redactor worked them into one unit at some point. As a unit, cols. 15-19 can be shown to be an extensive reworking of cols. 10-14.²⁶ This expansion specifically attempts to downplay the role of the faithful, who are very active in cols. 10-14, and focus almost entirely on divine action. John Zhu-En Wee proposes that this shift indicates that “external circumstances were then unfavorable to the sectarians. The sectarians were exhorted to trust in the supernatural when victory seemed humanly impossible.”²⁷ Wee merely notes the flow of resistance theology from one recension into another as a passing observation to suggest why these columns may have been redacted, but it is a rather important conclusion. His analysis exactly supports Flusser’s model and the related one proposed in this study that appropriations of the apocalyptic strand of the Battlefield Myth within 1QM are the work of later redactors during a time of disorientation because

26. Zhu-En Wee, “Columns 15-19 of the *War Scroll*,” 281.

27. *Ibid.*, 280.

of unmet eschatological expectations. It seems, therefore, that the evidence supports the conclusion that cols. 18-19 represent some of the latest strata within 1QM.

5.5. Summary

The *War Scroll* clearly contains multiple opposing appropriations of the Battlefield Myth that support very different theologies of resistance. In some cases, these different ways of imagining the participation of the elect and divine in the final battle are directly juxtaposed and appear to be further evidence of a redactor. As indicated above and in chapter 4, 1QM consists of multiple independent units brought together by an editor at some point up to and possibly including the writing of the scroll. Using the Battlefield Myth as a redaction-critical lens indicates that even within these units there exists heavy redactional activity. This allows us to postulate layers within the already identified layers of the scroll.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Israelite fusion of the Primordial Combat Myth and the Divine Warrior Myth, which I have termed the Battlefield Myth, consists of a core of texts within the Hebrew Bible found in Exod 14-15, Josh 10, and Judg 4-5. Writers in the Second Temple Period, through apocalypticism, adapted this myth in order to envision theologies of resistance. Some of these adaptations were closer to the core than others, such as 2 Macc 10, while others were on the fuzzy fringes, such as Jub 23. The resistance theologies in these mythic texts were responses to the crises Jews faced in the second and first centuries BCE. The *War Scroll* from Qumran contains multiple differing appropriations of the Battlefield Myth that reveal the work of multiple writers/redactors, each of whom envisioned the final war with varying levels of human and divine participation. An examination of the external material evidence from cave 4 compared to 1QM clearly shows evidence of multiple redactions. Further examination of the internal clues found within 1QM provides more evidence of redaction.

The analysis of the external and internal evidence has yielded several interesting patterns. First, it is possible to show a flow of resistance theology from pre-1QM fragments to 1QM and related fragments. The cave 4 fragments that predate 1QM all show a high level of human participation in the eschatological fight. Based on the appropriation of the Battlefield Myth in these early war texts, it seems as though the

writers of the late Hasmonean/early Herodian period favored human action in dealing with the enemies of YHWH, with YHWH granting victory. 1QM, however, consistently displays an expansion of this resistance theology to include the explicit actions upon the battlefield of YHWH or YHWH's hosts as the primary means of deliverance. This flow of resistance theology loosely correlates to a period of time when a Jewish state moved from enjoying relative independence and military success to a time when no such military actions were possible. The latter phase may also explain why the effects of dualistic theology are so strong throughout various parts of 1QM but are missing in the previous recensions of the cave 4 texts: the prospect of fighting their oppressors, both pagan and Jewish, may have eventually felt futile. It is therefore possible that the theology of the war texts could have changed over time from a military manual for actual war, similar to the Maccabean revolt, to an eschatological war where members would be joined by heavenly warriors for the final battle that would bring about their victory and reign over the whole world.¹

Second, we have seen that the Battlefield Myth can help to distinguish redactional layers within 1QM by revealing internal inconsistencies in its appropriation. The following table summarizes the various strands of the Battlefield Myth within 1QM that were examined in chapters 4 and 5:

1. Duhaime, *War Texts*, 59-60.

Table 6.1: Strands of the Battlefield Myth within 1QM	
1QM	Strand of the Battlefield Myth
1	Traditio-apocalyptic
2	Traditional
9	Traditio-apocalyptic
11	Apocalyptic
12	Traditio-apocalyptic
16-17	Dualistic
18-19	Apocalyptic

The above table clearly highlights the contradictory images of the roles of YHWH and the faithful within 1QM. Such drastic differences in the appropriations of the Battlefield Myth from column to column can only lead to the conclusion that 1QM is a composite made from a diverse set of war traditions.

A cursory glance at ancient Jewish history makes it obvious that at least some of those from the Qumran community chose to side with the Jewish rebels in the First Roman-Jewish War because their scrolls were found at Masada. This might seem to indicate the exact opposite of my conclusion that the *War Scroll* reflects a shift in theology from human militancy to less human participation and more divine action. However, these two conclusions need not be antithetical to each other. My conclusion is simply that the theology of the community trended away from human participation and toward total divine participation during the late Hasmonean and early Roman periods. Since their theology of resistance was in flux during this period due to unmet socio-

political expectations, it is entirely possible that in the intervening 60-80 years it swung back toward the other end of the resistance spectrum. It is more likely that the crisis of 66 CE caused an abandonment of some beliefs in the face of tragedy.² It should also be noted that not all of the community members necessarily ascribed to the same theology; thus only some of the members need to have joined the opposition to Rome rather than all the members. The fact that some from the community joined with the revolt does not preclude the proposal presented here or explain away the conclusions of this study.

Finally, the major proposal of this thesis, that one can use the reception of the Battlefield Myth as a window into the theological development of the Qumran community, can be expanded outward from that microcosm to the larger world of Second Temple Judaism and early Christianity. The Battlefield Myth continued to appeal to Jews and then to Christians even after the disaster of the First Roman-Jewish War from 68-73 CE. The Battlefield Myth is evident within the New Testament in places such as Eph 6:10-20,³ Rev 12,⁴ and Rev 19.⁵ These instances of the myth clearly follow the

2. For example, the isolationist attitude of the United States on Dec 6, 1941, drastically changed the next day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

3. Eph 6:10-20 speaks of spiritual armor and battle against the enemy. The writer urges the readers to put on this divine raiment and fight the enemy. However, the enemy is not "flesh and blood" (v 12), but rather the "evil one" (v 16). None of these pieces of battle equipment are used for armed conflict because Christians inherently bring the "gospel of peace" as they walk (v 15). The only offensive weapons within this passage are God's word (presumably Torah) and constant prayer. Eph 6 is not calling the reader to armed conflict, but rather to stand firm in the face of trials. In this way its use of the Battlefield Myth shares many similarities with Daniel and T. Mos. See Andrew T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, WBC 42 (Dallas: Word, 1990), 455-60.

4. Rev 12 is perhaps the most obvious example which specifically describes war in Heaven. Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001), 58, sees the entire chapter as based on combat myths from multiple ancient sources. See also pp. 79-84. The ensuing battle in Heaven follows several combat myths, most notably the Baal-Mot cycle where Mot is allowed to reign for a time before Baal throws him down to the earth. This victory by Baal does not destroy Mot; rather Baal allows him to continue to exercise some authority. The role of the faithful can be seen in Rev 12:17 as "those who keep God's commands and hold fast their testimony about Jesus." It would seem that mortals do not play an active role in the eschatological combat pictured here.

Apocalyptic trajectory similar to Dan and T Mos. Other post-70 CE Jewish Literature, such as 2 Baruch⁶ and 4 Ezra,⁷ also appropriate the Battlefield Myth to speak into the new crisis of the destruction of the temple.

In all these cases discussed above, the impulse behind reception and adaptation of the Battlefield Myth seems to be a response to religious and secular oppression. Those who applied the myth to their own socio-religious milieu did so to envision resistance against their oppressors. But a scribe imagining resistance does not immediately translate into a program of resistance, which is why the mechanics of each writer's adaptation are important for multiple reasons. First, knowing how and when God will come to one's aid against one's "clearly" wicked adversaries is invaluable social currency, allowing a religious leadership on the fringes of society to attract a following. This kind of secret access to the power of God by one particular religious group could be transferred off the vellum scroll and into the world by those who believed in it. This embodiment could become reality in a variety of ways and through a variety of means, as discussed above.

Second, understanding how the Battlefield Myth is applied in these texts reveals quite a bit about the social setting of the writers. Texts that fall into the apocalyptic

5. In Rev 19 the armies of God are dressed in white and Christ alone is armed and splattered with blood. Again we see a theology of resistance that does not require violent participation by the faithful.

6. Written ca. 85–120 CE, 2 Baruch developed a "quietistic" posture similar to the *Apocalypse of Weeks*. The writer urges readers to become less preoccupied with revenge against their enemies, specifically Rome, and instead focus on keeping Torah and purification of their souls in preparation for the coming age of the messiah. See Zerbe, "Pacifism," 85.

7. In 4 Ezra 4:33-37, the souls of the righteous ask how long before God acts and they are told to wait until their full measure is fulfilled. This is very similar to Rev 6:9-11 where the martyrs under the altar beg God to avenge their blood and they are told to wait until the full number of martyrs has been killed. The death of each of the righteous in 4 Ezra and every martyr in Revelation brings God slightly closer to decisively intervening in a manner reminiscent of T Mos. See Josephine M. Ford, *Revelation*, ABC 38 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 111. Zerbe, "Pacifism," 90-92, gives five examples as to why this cannot be the case. He argues that Revelation does not encourage martyrdom through the synergistic contribution model which Yarbrow-Collins suggests. See Adela Yarbrow-Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (New York: Brill, 1996): 211.

strand, but especially the dualistic strand, were probably written by those facing overwhelming odds without any real chance of winning a military victory. Here we find those who knew that triumph could only come through the direct intervention of God. On the opposite side of the spectrum, texts that fall into the traditional strand were probably written by those who felt they only needed God's blessing, or perhaps a little help, to win. From our discussion of the progression of resistance theology in the *War Scroll*, it is clear that a religious group's adaptation of the Battlefield Myth could evolve along with the winds of socio-political change. Expectations of possible victory in one decade could sour into disorientation in the next.

Third, it is quite clear there existed in the minds of Jews in the late Second Temple Period a considerable amount of cognitive dissonance regarding armed conflict against pagan and Jew alike, the involvement of God in history and the present world, and the role that the faithful would play in the final drama of the age. This cognitive dissonance arose from "what was affirmed by religious belief and what was empirically the case."⁸ The adaptation of the Battlefield Myth in Second Temple Jewish texts betrays how different writers sought to relieve this tension, usually, though not always, through fantasized violence. Therefore, the question we must ask is this: in these eschatological scenarios, who is perpetrating the majority of the violence? Scenarios where humans are fighting more than divine armies have the most potential to be linked to an historical movement, such as the Maccabees. This kind of cognitive dissonance experienced by late Second Temple Jews and Christians has appealed to religious groups ever since. In the face of religious belief and the observed state of the world, many throughout the

8. John Collins, *Apocalypse, Prophecy, and Pseudepigraphy*, 310.

following centuries, such as Christians during the rise of Islam in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, continued to appeal to and adapt the received tradition of texts called the Battlefield Myth in order to paint a picture of the final resolution of a cosmic drama set in motion before God slayed Leviathan and set out the world from its carcass.

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